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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1815**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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24 September 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GEORGIAN OFFICIAL IN CSSR.--A Soviet delegation led by N. Chitanava, deputy chairman of the council of ministers of the Georgian SSR, which is attending the Agrokomplex 80 agricultural fair in Nitra, was received on 21 August by Julius Hanus, deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 80 p 2]

CSO: 2020

## LAXNESS IN PROTECTING CULTURAL MONUMENTS CRITICIZED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 29 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Alfred Kazanxhi: "No Damage Should Be Allowed To Be Done to Cultural Monuments"]

[Excerpts] The state shows special interest in all monuments, taking a direct role in their protection. This protection was sanctioned in a decree issued in 1971. In addition to the people's councils which have the obligation to protect these treasures of our culture, the Ministry of Education has charged the school directorates with taking care of cultural monuments in their areas and being concerned with their upkeep, thereby correctly evaluating the problem of the protection of cultural monuments as a matter for the broad masses.

However, there are cases of indifference in regard to this treasure which we have inherited over the ages. There are many examples. The Naziresha mosque, a cultural monument of great value, has been restored in Elbasan. But if you were to see this monument today, you would see that it has been poorly kept up. The wall around the monument is broken, the windows are damaged. The state is spending money to preserve these treasures but indifferent individuals and evil-doers are taking materials from these restorations. But how does this happen when the executive committee of the people's councils of the district and of the quarter, in particular, are supposed to be taking care of this monument? The mozaic in front of the palace of sports in Durres City, for which considerable funds were spent in 1978, has been damaged again.

We know that all the damage is not done in 1 day. Any building, even a cultural monument, is damaged when no one shows any interest in its upkeep for a relatively long time. First, children play on it and then they throw things at it and the damage on a mass scale begins. Some chairmen of people's councils have an indifferent attitude. The chairman of the people's council in the Kala quarter of Elbasan allowed violations to occur in the area protected by the state and in the museum zone and the secretary of the people's council in the village of Cuke in Sarande District allowed a cultural monument to be destroyed. Often the people's councils do not report damage to monuments or when they do report it (often very late) it is hard to find the perpetrators.

There are people's councils which, when damage to monuments is discovered and they are called to account, justify themselves by saying: "We did not know that it was a cultural monument", even though every cultural monument is registered by the Institute for Cultural Monuments. There are laws dealing with the protection of cultural monuments and stipulating punishments for those who damage them.

## BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON NEW MEMBERS OF ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Sofia KHIMIYA I INDUSTRIYA in Bulgarian No 6, 1980 pp 279-280

[Biographical data: "New Members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] At the session of the General Assembly of Academicians held on 28 and 29 November 1979 at the BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences], elections were held for new members of the Academy according to the announced scientific areas. The following new academicians and corresponding members were elected in the area of chemistry: Academician Lyubomir Dimitrov Zhelyazkov, for medical chemistry; Academician Georgi Manuilov Bliznakov in general and inorganic chemistry, and Corresponding Member Yordan Petrov Malinovski, in the physical chemistry of photographic processes. Extensive material on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Academician L. Zhelyazkov was published in the journal KHIMIYA I INDUSTRIYA, No 1, 1979.

[Academician Georgi M. Bliznakov; by Senior Science Associate Dimitur Klisurski]

Academician Georgi M. Bliznakov is widely known among Bulgarian chemists and the Bulgarian scientific community for his diverse scientific research, teaching, scientific-organizational and social activities.

In world science, the name of Academician Bliznakov is linked with his original scientific research in three extremely important scientific areas: crystal growth, adsorption and catalysis, and inorganic synthesis. This research has been a very substantial contribution to explaining the influence of adsorption of impurities on the equilibrium form of crystals and on the formation of the crystal nuclei, to explaining the quantitative patterns of the effect of adsorption of foreign matter on the linear rate of crystallization, and to the development of the theory of epitaxial growth. Academician Bliznakov was the first to find the correct theoretical approach to a thermodynamic and thermodynamic statistical interpretation of the

effect of adsorption on crystallization processes. The equation derived by him expressing the correlation between the linear rate of crystallization and the concentration of the adsorbing substance has gained exhaustive experimental affirmation.



Extensive international recognition has also been given to his research on natural and synthetic adsorbents, their modification and the relationship between adsorption and a number of other basic physicochemical properties (dispersity, pore radius, biographic and induced heterogeneity, and conductivity). Very substantial have been the contributions of Academician Bliznakov and his coworkers in studying the catalytically active surface of metals, semiconductors and insulators, in explaining the kinetics and mechanism of industrially important catalytic reactions, in establishing the correlations between catalytic properties, dispersity, magnetic properties, conductivity, the correlation between the energy and nature of the bond of

oxygen on the surface layer of oxide catalysts and their activity and selectivity in oxidation processes, and so forth.

We must also specially mention the extensive research on the synthesis of important materials for modern technology, and particularly the high-hardness borides, the low separating work of an electron, and other interesting properties.

The results of the designated fundamental research by Academician Bliznakov have been generalized in more than 200 original scientific works published in well-known Bulgarian and international publications. An expression of the international recognition has been the election of Academician Bliznakov as chairman of the International Committee for Boron and Borides, as a member of the International Council on Catalysis, and as an honorary member of scientific organizations abroad, as a member of the editorial staffs of well-known international and Bulgarian journals, the invitations to give lectures at Humboldt University in Berlin, Moscow State University and the Moscow Institute for Metals and Alloys, and so forth.



Upon the initiative and with the personal assistance of Academician Bliznakov, a number of original research methods have been worked out, original equipment designed, and a broad range of new modern experimental methods introduced in our research practices such as "Auger," which is spectroscopy which by electronic and ion methods stimulates desorption, and so forth.

Characteristic of the scientific creativity of Academician Bliznakov has been his constant and vital interest not only in the urgent problems of modern science, but also modern technical progress. Being one of the recognized representatives of the established and well-known school on the theory and experimental methods of crystal growth, he for the first time became the initiator of developing the methods and equipment for growing industrial monocrystals which are of primary importance for various areas of modern technology and industry.

Also linked to the name of Academician Bliznakov is the extensive application of improved methods for applying wear-resistant boride surfaces on hard-alloy cutting tools, and so forth. We must make special mention also of the methods developed under the leadership or with the personal involvement of Academician Bliznakov and in collaboration with Soviet scientific collectives for obtaining new highly active and highly selective catalysts for the industrial process of reducing methanol to formaldehyde; there is also the method developed in Bulgaria for preparing a catalyst for the complete reduction of hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide, an adsorbent for treating industrial water, and a number of other original applied developments.

Also indisputable is the contribution of Academician Bliznakov to the training of highly skilled personnel. Over the decades he has given basic and special lecture courses on general and inorganic chemistry, physical chemistry, kinetics and catalysis, and so forth. Under his leadership, a significant number of dissertation works has been defended, and research personnel has been trained and they are successfully at work on the modern problems of general and inorganic chemistry.

As the leader of many years of the Chair of Inorganic Chemistry at Sofia University, and the director of the Institute for General and Inorganic Chemistry from its inception, Academician Bliznakov has contributed greatly to the organization of these institutes and to raising the level of their academic, research and integrated activities. In addition, for several years Academician Bliznakov has been the chief scientific secretary of the BAN. We must also note his active social activities as the chairman of the Union for Chemistry and the Chemical Industry under the Central Council of the Bulgarian Scientific and Technical Unions.

The achievements of Academician Bliznakov in the development of our chemical science have been highly regarded by our government and society. Expression of this regard has been the awarding of high decorations, the presentation of the Dimitrov Prize for Science and the honorary title "Honored Scientist," as well as his unanimous election by the BAN General Assembly as academician for general and inorganic chemistry.

May we wish Academician Bliznakov good health and new creative accomplishments.

[Prof Dr Yordan Malinovski, corresponding member of the BAN, by Science Associate Kiril Petkov]

Malinovski was born in 1923 in Sliven. From 1949, he was a regular assistant at the Physics Faculty of Sofia University, from 1959, a senior science associate at the Institute for Physical Chemistry under the BAN, and from 1964, professor at the same institute. During this period for several years he was an instructor at the VIKhVP [Higher Food Industry Institute] in Plovdiv and on the Physical Chemistry Chair at the Physics and Mathematical Faculty of the Kl. Okhridski University of Sofia. He was a candidate of chemical sciences from 1958, and defended his doctoral dissertation in 1960. Since 1967, he has been the director of the Central Laboratory for Photographic Processes [TsLAFOP] under the BAN, and in 1979 was elected a corresponding member of the BAN.



While an assistant and a scientific coworker at the Physics Institute of the BAN, Prof Malinovski succeeded in obtaining significant results relating to the physical maturing of photographic emulsions and in showing that the sensitivity of photographic materials depends substantially upon the distribution of the latent image between the surface and the volume of the emulsion grains. This is known as the "method of differential developing" and up to now has been used by a number of firms which produce photographic materials (ORWO, AGFA) in order to give them physical characteristics. The emulsion developed at that time for X-ray paper has been produced in Bulgaria.

In the scientific activities of Prof Malinovski, a particular place is held by model research on the mechanism of the elementary photographic process on the monocrystals of silver bromide. For this purpose he developed a method and equipment for direct synthesis and for drawing out these monocrystals. This method at present is widely used throughout the world for obtaining various high-purity, light-sensitive compounds. Devices were also developed for producing and applying impurities and for studying the influence of the additives on the creation of the latent image. In this method important questions related to the mechanism of action of the active components of photomaterials were elucidated.

A major accomplishment of Prof Y. Malinovski has been the experimental elucidation of the removal of photographic empty spaces in the silver halide crystals, as well as a theoretical elucidation of their role in the creation of the latent image. The research made it possible to supplement the theory of Gurney and Mott on the formation of the latent image. The original feature in the elaborated method was the combining of purely physical principles (the drawing of the photoholes to the surface through light and electric impulses) with methods known from photographic practices (the use of metal grains as powerful catalysts for the developing process). Using the described method, an integrated picture of the photographic process was created and this included also the participation of the photogenerated holes and presently known in the literature as a symmetrical scheme.

The contributions of Prof Y. Malinovski have been highly regarded and have been widely reflected in scientific literature (105 scientific publications and 16 patents).

Considering the long-range importance of this research for photographic practices, in 1967 the TsLAFOP was organized with Prof Dr Yordan Malinovski as its director. At present this laboratory is recognized as one of the world centers for photographic science.

In recent years the TsLAFOP has developed an original procedure for obtaining thin layers in a vacuum, and this opens up the path to developing photographic materials using a fundamentally new method, namely the evaporation of the light-sensitive substances. This research also throws light on the unknown mechanism of chemical sensitization and the process of development.

In proving that it begins with the rise and growth of a new phase from elementary silver which catalyzes the reduction process.

The new method also makes it possible to use silver-free compounds. It has a number of technical, functional and ecological advantages and leads to the surmounting of certain basic difficulties in handling the extreme separating power and is free of powder defects. One of the new photomaterials in terms of separating power exceeds all those previously known in the world with 1,000-fold greater sensitivity.

At present the TsLAFOP is organizing semi-industrial production of photographic plates with a high-separating power and is developing several variations of the plates for obtaining photopatterns in microelectronics.

On these problems it is collaborating with the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the GDR Academy of Sciences, with the Karl Zeiss Plant in the GDR, and the AGFA-Gevaert in the FRG.

In 1970, Prof Dr Y. Malinovski was awarded the Dimitrov Prize for Science for achievements in the area of the theory of the photographic process. In 1974, he received an award of the U.S. Society for Photographic Science and Equipment for the best work published in the society's Journal, and in 1975 was elected a member of the society. In the following year, he was elected an honorary member of the Royal Photographic Society in Great Britain. In 1978, for his work on the mechanism of the developing of the photographic image of his graduate student Iv. Konstantinov, he was awarded the Egert Prize of the Swiss Federal Polytechnical School in Zurich.

Over the brief period since the creation of the TsLAFOP up to the present, seven scientific coworkers have defended their candidate dissertations under his leadership. There already is a Bulgarian school of specialists in the area of photographic science and equipment, and its representatives are invited as guests to give major papers at virtually all international undertakings in this area (Moscow, Dresden, Prague, Zurich, Munich, Paris, Rochester and Tokyo).

The election of Prof Dr Y. Malinovski as corresponding member is a recognition of his contributions to the development of photographic science.

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VANDALISM OF VENDING MACHINES, PHONE BOOTHS NOTED

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 8 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Lyubomir Dashev and Radoslav Velikov: "How Long Are We Going To Be at the End of the Line"]

[Text] When any of our Bulgarian brethren would come back from wherever he had been, even from one of the neighboring Balkan countries, he would immediately start:

"Oh brother, where they are, and where we are! What a difference, how much more advanced they are! Unbelievable! You put the coin in the slot, press the button and out comes a full cup of coffee or cola. You push the button of another vending machine and out comes a newspaper. And there are others for cigarettes and even for stockings."

Such were also the words of a friend of ours who had invited us after his return from a prolonged business trip to one of the "top European" countries, as he himself put it. Raising his glass of whiskey, he said: "How long are we Bulgarians going to be at the end of the line? How long?"

We would like to remind people like that that in Bulgaria, even though it is a small country, we also have similar machines for measuring weight. We also have vending machines for coffee and juices in the center of Sofia next to the Students Club and in other places as well. Some newspaper vending machines also appeared. And even telephone books appeared in the telephone booths. But the way they appeared they shortly became unfit for their purpose, while the telephone books disappeared even in a shorter time than that.

We have witnessed tragic scenes in the evenings and at later hours in front of the vending machines next to the Students Club. Many people used their fists on the machines. Others used them for target practice. And still others put in them anything but coins and then wondered why the coffee was not coming out.



Other victims of abuse today still are the automatic telephones. Quite often the diaphragms of the receivers and the wires are missing. It would be no exaggeration to say that quite often we find telephone booths completely stripped. And we still find artists who love to leave their marks on the walls. The seats in the buses, the public toilets and many, many other places abound with graffiti as well.

And we should not be surprised that so many of the cafes and pastry shops need frequent renovations. The reupholstery of the chairs is usually ruined in no time!

Reading these lines somebody would probably smile skeptically and say that we have written many times about similar things and that writing would not help. We should probably impose fatter fines for the violators, and reimbursement for damages and it would not be a bad idea to print their names in the press.

In other words, nobody likes to be at the end of the line. And our Bulgarian brethren should keep their eyes more widely open next time they go abroad.

1010

CSO: 2200

## CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISE HELD AT AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE

Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Aug 80 supplement NAS DOMOV pp 2,3

[Article by Josef Semerak "Strike Above Manin"]

(Text) The meeting in the cultural center of the Mestecko Unified Agricultural Cooperative was for a while transformed into an operations room for the civil defense staff of the agricultural facility. The cadastral map was still clean, as clean as the countryside below Makyta, Portas, below Manin and above the dam. Local eyewitnesses talk in terse sentences of people's heroism in World War II. It swept through this virgin land like a tornado, leaving horror and pain in its wake...

Engineer Zezula chairman of the Peace Unified Agricultural Cooperative in Mestecko, is bending over the carefully assembled documentation spread over the work table. He is as serious as he is in consultations regarding the tasks of the cooperative which has its facilities spread over six neighboring communities in very complex natural and economic conditions. Its narrowly specialized production concentrating on bulk fodder, meat, milk and wool keeps him busy full time. After all, the cooperative has currently 120 million in assets. The cooperative's 835 workers, whose average age is 38 years, stand witness to the fact that it is a highly prosperous cooperative from which young people do not flee to the city. There are actually quite a few young people on the farms and they like their work. Even the management is young. As the chairman, Engineer Zezula, stated: "We have a cooperative with advanced cadre and a good operational base..."

Faces of the members of the training staff betray suspense, concentration and a bit of stage fright. All of them, comrades Janovec, Kozacik, Jurzik, Engineer Tucka and others prepared themselves thoroughly for this exercise. They would meet after work, mutually coordinate their respective roles, practice their functions in order to present a demonstration for the participants and prove to themselves that they had mastered the complex problems of defending their facilities and stood ready to defend what they had built with their own hands.

The topic presented by the commentator gives an indication of what this exercise can grow into: Activities of the civil defense staff of an agricultural facility during a nuclear attack...

"Air-raid alert!" reports the telephone operator to the staff. The commandant, Engineer Zezula, orders checking the dissemination of the signal to all facility components, specifies the staff members' activities, issues instructions. The faintly recalled sound of sirens reverberates through the communities as it used to a long time ago... Groups of inhabitants head for the shelters. Feverish work on reinforcement of agricultural installations, stables and parturition stalls goes on. Windows and gates are lined with compressed straw, tar paper, boards... Fodder is stored and covered... protective measures for water... protection of finished products ready for storage... We observe the members of the cooperative at the farm in Luky pod Makytou. They work with devotion, conscious of their tasks, duty, hours and minutes that remain till the order is carried out.

The anticipated radiation and chemical hazard is now expressed in a radiation alert. A nuclear "hit" somewhere in Moravia and its radioactive cloud is now "spreading through the Vah River valley over the Javorniky Mountains." The staff adopts new measures.

During radioactive contamination, orders are issued by Engineer Karol Krsko, the head of the farm in Luky. Clean areas with modern technical equipment for housing animals, silos, agricultural buildings are partially sealed. Access and evacuation routes made of prefabricated concrete disappear in their steep ascent. An improvised filtrating ventilation system supplies fresh air for animals.

By then there arrives a patrol car with its crew wearing protective clothing against chemicals; they measure the radiation level, stake out contaminated areas... A fire broke out at the lower part of the farm... It is liquidated in several minutes by a crew of firemen who first evacuated women who suffered burns. The women are treated by the first aid crew... The air is filled with all sorts of activity occurring in succession at an incredible rate.

The sound of engines is heard from the lower gate. A unit for decontamination of the terrain arrives. A spraying car, an improvised road sweeper attached to a tractor. Radioactive slime flows from roadways into ditches. Passages are cleared. Spraying frames deactivate contaminated equipment...

But the most difficult phase of the exercise is only beginning: veterinary decontamination of animals. Sampling of fodder from troughs, water samples, samples of milk, blood, straw from stalls...

In the mobile PVL 4 veterinary laboratory, tasks were already assigned by Gabriela Vontorcikova, doctor of veterinary medicine. Just to make sure, Engineer Stanislav Marosz will analyze samples of toxic agents while

Doctor Vontorcikova will simultaneously determine the radioactivity of samples by means of a computer.

One milch cow after another is chased into a special cage equipped with jets to sprinkle contaminated animals with warm water to undertake decontamination. After a veterinary checkup the animals are led to an uncontaminated area.

The statewide demonstration exercise at the Unified Agricultural Cooperative's civil defense in Mestecko lasted 2 whole days. For 2 days the inhabitants of the villages below steep slopes lived under extraordinary conditions. And if this particular exercise showed how to cope with keeping up agricultural production during nuclear attack, those 2 days were more than needed.

In the afternoon, members of the cooperatives set out for the fields.



A crew of firemen extinguishes a fire while wounded are treated by girls wearing dark clothing and protective masks.

Animal protection crew during decontamination of cows.



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Veterinary Doctor Gabriela Vontorcikova checking with her colleagues in the mobile veterinary laboratory samples taken at agricultural facilities.



Overall view of the farm of the United Agricultural Cooperative in Luky under Makyta. Participants in the statewide demonstration exercise in front of a reinforced installation.



## BRIEFS

'ANTI-ALCOHOL BILL' BEING PREPARED--Prague, 13 August--While in 1962 a total of 16 percent of all punishable offenses in the Czech Socialist Republic were committed while under the influence of alcohol, in recent years the role of alcohol in punishable activities has reached already 35 percent. The negative influence of alcoholism is particularly markedly manifested in road traffic--in the past 2 years intoxicated drivers have caused a death in roughly every 37th accident. Alcoholism is also one of the causes of absenteeism and frequent changing of jobs. It undermines work discipline, leads to labor accidents, divorces and so forth. The existing legal regulations have become outdated. They do not create sufficient scope for the protection of society against the consequences of improper consumption of alcohol and do not prosecute some of the new, nonalcoholic forms of toxomania. For this reason a new draft bill is being prepared, which envisages--above all--central control of the protection against alcoholism and other toxicomanias, and sets concrete tasks for bodies and organizations. An important role will be played by the national committees, which will be authorized to establish special commissions to be their initiatory and control organs, headed by a national committee deputy. [CTK report: "For a More Efficient Combating of Alcoholism"] [Text] [AU181543 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Aug 80 p 2]

CSO: 2020

## REGULATIONS ON LEAVE, PASSES EXPLAINED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 8, Aug 80 signed to press  
2 Jun 80 pp 84-86

['Information' feature: "Leave and Off-Duty Time"]

[Text] We repeatedly receive letters from readers asking about provisions of the leave regulation (DV 010/6/007) which applies to the National People's Army, the Border Troops of the GDR and those members serving in the Civil Defense of the GDR. Below we offer a summary of the most important provisions about leave and off-duty time.

### General Principles:

The following types of leave exist: ordinary leave, extended pass, pass, special leave as a reward and on special occasions and convalescent leave. The last of these is, as is time spent at spas, regulated by military provisions on health care. There exists a legal right to ordinary leave. No legal claim may be made to the other types of leave. They are — as noted in Number 4(2) — to be granted "with consideration of standing combat readiness." Leave planning on the whole must be based on the premise that standing combat readiness, guarding of the state frontier and assigned teaching and training goals are reached. As a rule no leave is granted prior to completion of basic military training.

### Ordinary Leave

The amount of ordinary leave depends on service status. During his 18 months of obligatory service, the conscript soldier receives 18 days of ordinary leave, Sundays and legal holidays not counted. Warrant officer and officer cadets and students of higher military schools are entitled to 30 calendar days of leave including four Sundays and legal holidays per calendar year. For the year in which they are commissioned, cadets receive the same leave as limited service or career officers. Here provision must be made for their receiving at least two-thirds of their ordinary leave entitlement prior to reporting for troop service.

A soldier, noncommissioned officer (NCO), limited service officer, career NCO, warrant officer or career officer who voluntarily extends his term of service receives correspondingly more ordinary leave (see Table). In the call-up year this is computed proportionally beginning from the month during which active service begins. In the mustering-out year the same is done up to and including the month during which active military service ends. When length of service giving entitlement to increased leave is reached, it is granted fully from the calendar year during which conditions are satisfied.

#### Extended Pass

This is leave over the weekend together with one day of ordinary leave and normally begins on Friday after duty hours and ends on Tuesday before duty hours begin. It can also be granted over legal holidays. Soldiers in conscript service, NCO, warrant officer and officer candidates and cadets at higher military schools can receive VKU [extended pass]. All other comrades receive it only if they do not live in the garrison area and are thus not able to visit their place of residence daily. Officer candidates receive VKU once a quarter from Friday after duty hours to Wednesday before duty hours begin with three days of ordinary leave being charged. An exception is the quarter during which they take their ordinary leave. In addition they receive extended pass charged as one day of ordinary leave either for Easter (from Thursday after duty hours to Tuesday before duty hours begin) or for Pentecost (from Friday after duty hours to Wednesday before duty hours begin) or Christmas (from 23 December after duty hours to 28 December before duty hours begin) or for New Year's (from 30 December after duty hours until 4 January before duty hours begin).

#### Pass

This is also leave over the weekend or over legal holidays. It begins on Saturday after duty hours and ends on Monday before duty hours begin. If it is a pass over legal holidays, then it begins after duty hours on the day before the holiday and ends before duty hours begin on the day after the holiday or holidays. Pass can be combined with special leave granted as a reward.

#### Special Leave

This is nonscheduled leave either as a reward for outstanding achievements or for special occasions. Anyone granted special leave as a reward should receive the opportunity to take it immediately or within 30 calendar days. Sundays, legal holidays and days during which off-duty time is granted are not counted in this case.

What are special occasions which justify special leave?

They could be one's own wedding, the birth of a child, moving, [socialist] confirmation or marriage of one's own children as well as catastrophes hitting one's own household, severe illness or death of a spouse, children, parents or parents-in-law, brothers or sisters [or] daughters- and sons-in-law. There is special leave of two to five days in these cases. The same applies to preparing for or concluding a job contract or joining a socialist society in connection with impending discharge as well as preparing to begin higher or trade school education. If one of the circumstances noted here should arise during normal leave, the person in question can turn to the local senior officer. He is authorized to grant special leave in such cases. The leave certificate is accordingly extended by him and, at the same time, he undertakes to notify the person's unit. In addition, up to a total of five days of special leave per calendar year can be granted if:

- (a) the spouse or a child belonging to the household is sick and care cannot be provided by other family members or other persons;
- (b) the spouse is hospitalized and care or housing of the children cannot be done by other family members or other persons.

The actual circumstances must be verified by an official or medical certificate when applying for special leave or upon inquiry.

It goes without saying that special leave is only granted concurrently with the special circumstances. The nature of the case, the functions to be accomplished and the travel time are to be considered in establishing its length. Special leave of the type described here cannot be retroactively applied for.

#### Leave Planning

For soldiers doing their basic military service, leave is planned on the basis of the 18 months period but for all other comrades it is planned for one calendar year. An effort is made to see that soldiers doing basic military service can go on leave at least twice during a half-year, one leave for five consecutive days ordinary leave and one leave on extended pass. This can be for entire units from squad to company or also for individual members or border soldiers. Soldiers and limited service NCO's who are not able to visit their home daily should be given at least four leave trips within six months. If in such cases they receive more than three extended passes, all days except Sundays and legal holidays are charged as ordinary leave. At least six leave trips in a half-year under the same conditions are provided for limited service officers, career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers. If they receive more than five extended passes during this period, all days except Sundays and legal holidays are to be charged to ordinary leave.

## Leave Request

Each leave is to be requested in the leave book up to five days before it is to begin. The applicant is to be notified as to approval or disapproval no later than three days before the leave is to begin.

## Travel Time

In addition to soldiers in basic military service, warrant officer and officer candidates and cadets in higher military schools, all other comrades going on extended pass or pass can receive additional travel time if travel from the garrison to the place of residence and back is more than 12 hours. Either the beginning of the leave is advanced or [the time] is added to the leave and is established using timetables. Soldiers and limited service NCO's receive travel time six times in a calendar year while limited service officers, career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers receive it ten times.

## Illness During Leave

Anyone becoming ill while on leave or who becomes unable to travel while proceeding on leave is to the doctor of the nearest NVA [National People's Army] or Border Troops facility. If he is unable to do this, he must contact the nearest facility and request a house call by a doctor. Only when neither of these is possible, can he resort to another doctor. In every case the illness is to be immediately reported to the local senior officer. He then informs the patient's formation or unit. Leave days lost are not charged to ordinary leave if the illness is certified by a doctor.

## Leave for Reservists

There is no entitlement to ordinary leave during reserve military service. If such service lasts longer than three months, extended pass may be given once every two months. Pass is granted in accordance with the provisions already discussed. For a period of service up to three months reservists can, if the appropriate conditions exist, receive travel time twice and, in addition, once within two months.

## Free Leave Trips

A certain number of free leave trips are available to all members of the armed forces for travel with the Deutsche Reichsbahn [GDR railroad] or by bus from the garrison or place of residence to a vacation spot in the GDR. Those not living in the garrison area receive four trips per calendar year (soldiers doing basic military service receive a total of six during their 18 months of service). Those living in the garrison area receive one per year. Reservists on active duty for more than three months receive, if they do not reside in the garrison area, one free leave



every three months from the garrison to a vacation spot in the GDR. If the vacation is, with permission of supervisors, spent in other socialist countries, free travel to the corresponding GDR border railroad station can be provided. Second class military rail tickets are issued for free leave travel.

#### Fare Reduction

Use may be made of the conditions for purchasing commuter return tickets for leave travel with the Deutsche Reichsbahn. For this purpose the route is entered on the leave certificate. The leave certificate is good for a 75 percent reduction in purchasing second class tickets.

#### Duty-Free Time

This is a release from duty which is limited in time and established by supervisors. As a rule it is connected with permission to leave the garrison for a limited period of time. Duty-free time can be also granted in connection with extended pass or with a pass. Rules about duty-free days in border companies are not effected by this.

Anyone on duty for seven or more hours in order to accomplish leadership tasks, tasks and measures to maintain combat readiness and for the protection of military facilities, to accomplish training missions or to prepare for or accomplish planned political work tasks on Sundays or legal holidays can receive appropriate off-duty time. As a rule this is to be granted on another day of the following calendar week. For soldiers doing basic military service and limited service soldiers and NCO's, the rule applies only when they are assigned to units primarily having guard functions. Special rules apply to servicemen assigned to the duty system. These are established by the appropriate deputy ministers for national defense. NCO, warrant officer and officer candidates and cadets at higher military schools receive no duty-free time for duties performed on Sundays and legal holidays.

Duty-free time can also be granted to career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers to participate in training and examinations in correspondence or evening studies. The same applies to servicemen and border soldiers to accomplish state or social functions, particularly as deputies of elected people's representative bodies; however, in such cases accomplishment of duty tasks and combat readiness cannot be effected. Duty-free time is also given if a person is summoned to a court or a state investigative or control organ. It can also be requested if a five-day special leave to take care of sick family members is not sufficient and medical certificates are presented. But in such cases assistance from supervisors, local state organs, the local senior officer and also local social organs should be sought in order to find solutions that require either no or only very brief off-duty time.

For the realization of sociopolitical measures DV 010/0/007 also provides duty-free time for female members of our armed forces and for the spouses of career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers in so far as the last named have a higher requirement for ordinary leave. Space is not here sufficient to present a detailed exposition of these rules.

#### Explanation of Terms

Some important explanations of terms are given in an appendix to DV 010/0/007. Here some examples. The term "after duty hours" is defined as "following completion of duty, following completion of headquarters service" as well as "from 1000 hours on as a rule on Sundays and holidays." The term "before duty hours begin" is understood to mean "up to 30 minutes before morning roll call or beginning of headquarters service" as well as "up to 15 minutes before reveille for soldiers doing basic military service, NCO, warrant officer and officer candidates." The place of residence is considered to be the locality in which the serviceman or member of the Border Troops of the GDR is registered with the police. Proportional ordinary leave is computed by months. Fractions are rounded off to a full day. If, for example, the authorized ordinary leave for the calendar year is 26 days, then it would equal 2.16 days for one month. This amounts to 6.48 days for three months and this would be rounded off to 7 full days.

Table 1. Ordinary Leave Entitlement

Status	Number of Calendar Days per Calendar Year by Time in Service							
	1	2	3	4	5	6-10	11-15	16+
	Years in Service							
Soldiers and limited service NCO's	24	25	26	30	31	32		
Career NCO's	24	26	29	32	35	38	42	46
Limited service officers, warrant officers and career officers	36	36	36	36	36	38	42	46

For an entitlement of 24 to 29 days, 3 Sundays or legal holidays are counted as ordinary leave. For an entitlement of 30 or more days, the corresponding figure is 4.

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JULY-AUGUST 1980 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 80 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35, No 7/8, July-August 1980, signed to press 13 June 1980, pp 673-864: "A Policy to Safeguard Peace." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Socialism--The Real Humanism of Our Era" is the theme of the latest EINHEIT issue, appearing as a double issue. Nineteen authors illuminate aspects of this topic--of the peace policy of socialism, its economic consolidation and military safety to questions of socialist democracy, culture and way of life.

In his article, "Initiative for Peace," Herbert Krolkowski deals with the resolutions taken at the most recent conference of the Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact member states. The action program adopted there, the author states, demonstrates the fraternal socialist states' determination to preserve and continue, on behalf of safeguarding peace, detente and mutually advantageous cooperation.

In the next contribution, Stefan Doernberg emphasizes that today all peoples, all of human civilization, are beneficiaries of the socialist community's persistent peace policy. That in particular also showed the world historic magnitude of socialism.

Elsewhere in the issue, Hannes Hoernig deals in detail with topical tasks in college training, proceeding from the SED Central Committee Politburo college resolution. All deliberations and measures in this field should rely on the proven principles of the unity of training and education, teaching and research, and theory and practice. The tempestuous social and scientific-technical progress called for thoroughly educated graduates who could rapidly adapt themselves to new developments.

Hannes Hoernig in particular underscores the importance of independent scientific activity from the first day of studies and opposes regarding it as work "alongside" the training. Rather, "the creative, which typically determines the research process and implies doubt and searching for innovation, also must inform the acquisition of knowledge, the courses of study."

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST HUMANISM EVALUATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press  
13 Jun 80 pp 675-683

[Lead article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, jurist, deputy chief, Science Department, SED Central Committee: "Socialism--The Real Humanism of Our Era: On the International Theoretical Conference of the SED Central Committee in Erfurt"]

[Text] This was the theme that governed an SED Central Committee international theoretical conference held on 29 and 30 May 1980 in Erfurt, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of F. Engels' work, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," attended by representatives of 31 communist and workers parties. The speeches and discussions focused on the following problems: Real humanism; tradition, ideal and reality; freedom, democracy, human rights; rationality and humanity; secure peace--the basic humanistic concern.

This was the theme that governed an SED Central Committee international theoretical conference held on 29 and 30 May 1980 in Erfurt, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Friedrich Engels' work, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science." Following the keynote speech by Hannes Hoernig, SED Central Committee member and head of the Central Committee's science department, representatives of 31 communist and workers parties, members of our party and representatives of other bloc parties in the GDR, broken down into three working teams, engaged in vivid exchange of opinion and experience, in which 49 speakers took the floor. Otto Reinhold, SED Central Committee member and rector of the Social Science Academy under the SED Central Committee, had every good reason to emphasize in his concluding speech that such comradely discussions of topical problems in social and political development bolster the fighting strength of the communist

world movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The foreign guests, on the day preceding the conference, had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with enterprises, LPG's and communal facilities in Erfurt Bezirk and to talk with working people. Insights into our social practice gained thereby were reflected in various ways at the conference. Especially the comrades from fraternal parties in capitalist countries emphasized it had cogently demonstrated the humanistic character of the socialist social order.

### Real Humanism

Socialist humanism is real humanism. It is inseparably connected with the historic mission of the workers class, discovered by Marx and Engels, to establish the classless communist society and thereby make peace the normal condition of mankind. Humanism thrives in the revolutionary struggle for this truly humanistic goal, in the irrevocable realities of socialism, created by the working people in the socialist countries, partly under extremely complicated conditions, through hard struggle and sacrificial work.

The policy and social practice of real socialism, its ideology, culture and morality, are the supreme expression of the humanistic ideas and aspiration of mankind. The speech itself put it like this: "The socialist countries have performed revolutionary transformations which in their essentials point the way for all mankind. Their evidence makes socialism the homestead for humanity, safety, freedom and democracy. The liberation from exploitation, from crises and unemployment, from the fear of tomorrow and of the future, the political power exercised by the workers class under the leadership of its revolutionary party and in alliance with the other working people, the socialist property, the citizens' comprehensive democratic participation in shaping the social processes, the comradely fellowship among people, and the friendship among the fraternal peoples--all these are achievements of fundamental importance. Socialism proves itself as the power that renovates everything and changes the social relations as well as men."

The representatives of the fraternal parties were agreed that thereby the working people in the socialist countries are accomplishing something which cannot be rated highly enough in all the scope it has for the humanistic future of mankind. Alfred Dewhurst, for instance, Central Committee Politburo member of the Communist Party of Canada, announced that the inability of capitalism to solve fundamental social problems was becoming all the more evident the more the attractiveness of socialist ideas was growing. Any denigration of real socialism only served the interests of capital. The representative of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Tran Van Chuong, emphasized that the true humanism of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states served the peoples of the nationally liberated countries as a model in their struggle for constructing a better life, free from exploitation, and that consistent national liberation led to an ever growing trend toward the socialist orientation.



In contrast to the earlier humanism, which to be sure constructed desirable social conditions and ideals of harmonious personality without, however, being able to indicate how they were to be realized, socialist humanism derives its contents and objectives from social reality, explains them scientifically, and realizes them gradually to the extent that the real political, economic, social and cultural conditions are created for them in socialist society. That was brought home lucidly in the contributions by the representatives of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries.

The representatives of the CPSU and the SED, for instance, conveyed the experience that a classless society cannot be produced through an artificial elimination of social differences but that the social differences among classes and strata are historically necessary in developed socialist society and play a productive role. With the workers class playing the leading role, a process of rapprochement takes place among the classes and strata that amounts to a gradual reduction of social differences but also allows for the wealth of needs, the variety of interests and the differentiation in the working people's way of life. The realm of freedom, as prognosticated by Engels--as Mikhael N. Rutkevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, pointed out--can be brought to realization only through stages in a penetrating process of social transformation.

The speech referred to two indispensable prerequisites for humanism in real socialism: First, the decisive step toward realizing socialist humanism in practical social life lies in the socialist revolution through which the workers class in alliance with the other working classes and strata seizes political power. Second, socialist humanism requires for its firm economic basis the public ownership of the means of production. "Without the leadership role of the party, without the political rule of the workers class in alliance with the other working people, and without the public ownership in the means of production," the speech stated, "nowhere in the world has thus far a socialist society been established. Without the further development of socialist democracy, without perfecting the socialist state including the steady consolidation of the defense capability of socialism, neither the people nor the individuals would have self-determination." As different as the forms and ways toward the construction of socialist society may be, with regard to this the representatives of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries conveyed identical experiences in enforcing these general inevitabilities. The representative of the Yugoslav Communist League, Rade Aleksic, defined the political power of the workers class and the public ownership in the means of production as the basic prerequisite for socialist self-administration in Yugoslavia.

In the contributions made to the discussion by the representatives of fraternal parties in capitalist countries it became clear that real humanism also is alive in the communists' struggles for the interests of the working people, for peace and social progress. Jan Wienecke, for instance, member of the executive board of the [West German] DKP, told



of the efforts of the FRG communists to boost the workers' fighting strength in the enterprises. What fails to be taken away from the monopolies--he said--cannot be given to the working people. If the working people in the FRG is to receive what is rightly its own, the power and privileges of monopoly capital must be curtailed and its influence must be forced back and, eventually, surmounted.

### Tradition, Ideal and Reality

The new quality of socialist humanism and the insight into the limitations of all previous humanism does not give us a narrow view on our humanistic legacy and progressive traditions. On the contrary. We consider ourselves the true heirs of all humanistic aspirations and ideas of the past. We appreciate the deep wealth in ideas of the humanism in earlier ages, which often even then far transcended the barriers of any given class society. That we appropriate critically on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and we are developing it further, creatively. The humanism of antiquity, as expressed particularly in classical Greek culture, is as much a source in the history of ideas for socialist humanism as is the humanistic movement of the Renaissance, the humanistic content of the European Enlightenment and of classical German philosophy. British and French utopian socialism, combining the ideas of humanism with the socialist society to come, already marks the transition into the world of ideas of socialist humanism.

In Weimar, Buchenwald and Erfurt our foreign guest could convince themselves by what they saw there of how generously, and with how high and militant a content of ideas, our humanistic legacy is being preserved, fostered and disseminated among all GDR working people. This is how the speech put it: "The great humanistic idea that humanity raises itself through its work, that is, its own strength, from raw natural conditions to higher forms of society, culture and civilization, reason and morality, that humanity must work out and fight for its progress itself, as developed in various forms by such thinkers as Bacon, Hobbes and Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau, Lessing, Goethe and Schiller, Kant, Fichte and Hegel, Fourier, Saint-Simon and Owen, Belinski, Herzen and Chernyshevski, finds its comprehensive portrayal in socialist humanism, its theoretical grounding in the foundation of objective social inevitabilities and its progressive realization in the course of the establishment of socialist and communist society."

Our humanism drawn from the sources of the past, implies an active attitude of life for coping with present problems and focuses on the high ideals for the future of scientific communism. In this context issue was taken cogently with slander from the enemy to the effect that real socialism does not accord with the communist ideals and theoretical predictions of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, for which reason a different, "more libertarian or more democratic" socialism should have to be created.

We communists have a dialectical conception of the relationship between the ideal and reality. Ideals always rush ahead of reality, exceed reality. The concern of party policy precisely is to implement our social ideals through the working people's activities. That precisely makes humanism politically effective and politically truly humanistic. That also implies our constantly testing the conformity between our reality and our ideals and constantly rendering our ideals more precise in accordance with our practical experience. Thus there is a productive interaction between ideal and reality. Socialist reality--as the author Helmut Baierl formulated it--bears features of the ideal, and the ideal, features of reality.

Our ideals, Hannes Hoernig explained, "are no transcendent speculations. The Marxists never have conceived the ideal as subjectivist, fantastic or normative-dogmatic. They always marked as their ideals their long-term goals and principles which ultimately are derived from the objective tendencies of inevitable social development. . . . In contrast and contradistinction to all idealistic interpretations, which either attribute a transcendent character to ideals or implant them in an individual conscience, Marxism regards the ideals as an ideological expression of specific socioeconomic conditions of the life of men or classes expressing, along with the present, also the elements of the future contained in them. The ideals of socialism, therefore, amount to the reflection in ideas of the real social interests of the workers class and its allies. In them are formulated the world historic aspirations of the workers class and all peace-loving and democratic forces as the desirable objectives and tasks of our struggle."

Our socialist reality is no unproblematic and ideal "final condition" but a historically young social order full of dynamics. That was mainly discussed by the representatives of the CPSU, BCP, PZPR and SED. It was brought out clearly that the developed socialist society is not without contradictions, especially in its formation process. The still inadequately developed productive forces are sources of contradiction, for example, between growing needs and the possibility of satisfying them. Among some of the working people socialist consciousness may lag behind temporarily because "birth marks" of capitalism and external influences by imperialism still exist for one thing, and also because such complicated tasks as making scientific-technical progress prevail and combining it with the advantages of socialism, furthermore, make very high demands on the working people's insights into the inevitabilities of our new social environment. The uneven state of development in the various socialist countries likewise produces objectively conditioned diverse interests in one matter or another. Not last, the complicated external conditions under which the socialist countries have to bring their ambitious goals to realization burden their struggle. The raw material situation, the world market situation and the increased expenditures for military security compelled by the arms race of the imperialists do not exactly render the systematic construction of the new society unproblematic.

While constructing the socialist society, in the USSR as well as in most fraternal countries, many complicated problems and tasks had and have to be solved which by origin belonged to the capitalist era. The countries of the socialist community have met these enormous tests. Pitting socialist ideals against the reality of socialism therefore is neither feasible nor theoretically tenable in view of the socialist countries' practical experiences.

Not the communists, as was emphasized, but the bourgeoisie has long renounced humanistic ideals, as it is indeed not able to bring them to realization. Bourgeois ideologists, as Jens-Peter Madsen, candidate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, clearly demonstrated, resort to new, so-called "concrete utopias," which are being pitted against real socialism, anticommunist and reactionary in their objectives and in line with the general trend toward irrationalism marking the intellectual life in the imperialist countries.

#### Freedom, Democracy, Human Rights

These concepts play a central role in the international ideological class struggles. Basically this involves the question which social order can guarantee a life of human dignity to the working people and an all-round development of personality.

Imperialism cannot do so. This was impressively demonstrated by James Eduard Jackson, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the U.S. Communist Party. He marked U.S. imperialism as the most pitiless form of capitalism at the present. Unemployment, racism like what happened in Miami, the urban crisis, inflation and other economic crises, foreign policy adventures such as the most recent intrigues against Cuba characterize the United States as a society sitting on a powder keg and going through some sort of a national disaster. As the representative of the leftist Communist Party of Sweden demonstrated, even countries under social reformist governments for years show the growing influence of the monopolies with all its reactionary consequences. The comments by Tom Redmond, deputy chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland, pointed out that still under the conditions of developed capitalism national oppression continues to assume cruel forms as in that of the British occupiers' military policy. One cannot speak of freedom, democracy and human rights under such circumstances.

Imperialism's human rights campaign has a most concrete background, which was unmasked above all by the head of the CPSU delegation, Isak I. Mintz, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is a campaign conducted through enormous financial means and on government orders against the historic fact that the realization of elemental human rights is the most pertinent concern on the part of real socialism. Socialism embodies the up to now highest historically possible developmental stage of freedom and democracy. That also, in particular, demonstrates its humanistic character.

In our republic the working people have the constitutionally guaranteed right and freedom to take part extensively in the shaping of political, economic, social and cultural life. In conformity with objective social inevitabilities, they may consciously and systematically, and thus freely, realize their common basic interests in peace, social justice and security, education and culture, and social relations marked by respect for human dignity and promoting the development of personality. Those are real freedoms and rights, which are being further expanded and deepened with the progress of socialist society. This was put in the speech as follows: "To the extent that one succeeds, while shaping the developed socialist society, in better controlling the natural and social conditions for the existence of society, in further developing the productive forces and more comprehensively satisfying the needs of the people, our real freedom will grow. The fundamental social, political and cultural rights and freedoms offered by socialist society, rather than surrendering the individuals to the uncertainties of the so-called labor market, guarantee the right to work, liberate them from subsistence anxiety and give them social security, eliminate their cultural backwardness and pave the way for them to all cultural treasures, rescue them from intellectual manipulation and facilitate their access to education and intellectual creativity. They give them every opportunity to develop their abilities and talents, develop into all-round educated personalities and also shape their personal lives deliberately in harmony with society."

Consciousness and creativity become all the more important the further socialism advances. Though socialism has existed only for a brief historic period, the changes that have come with it in the social position of man and in the character of social relations have already left clear traces in the intellectual profile of the citizens of our state: Self-assurance; the need for meaningful, creative activity; respect for a partner's dignity; openmindedness and participation in the "small and wider world" are the typical characteristics of the socialist sense of life. Such socialist virtues--as was shown in the speech and the discussion--could not have formed and prevailed of course without tenacious and bitter struggle against the force of petty bourgeois habits, egoism and individualism, irresponsibility and unconcern, lack of discipline and wastefulness, let alone the constant confrontation with the threats, calumnies and insinuations from the imperialist class enemy.

Live socialist democracy significantly helps form the socialist personality, develop its capacities beyond any immediate activity at one's work and thus create the subjective conditions for men to deliberately shape and control their process of social life. The speech conveyed the experience that the daily practice of democratic participation provides millions of people with the moral conviction their activity is useful and also that they are responsible to their work collective, enterprise collective and all of society.

Socialist democracy is no formal game. What is most important is that the possibilities and conditions are created and constantly further



developed for the working people to be able to take part in various ways and on all levels, in the people's representations, many social organizations and their enterprises, in the actual management of society. In this connection the discussion contributions by the representatives of the bloc parties met with vivid interests by the foreign guests. They refuted the enemy claim that those parties have no influence and only serve as a democratic facade. They demonstrated by means of many facts the independence of the bloc parties and their real possibilities for bringing to bear, in alliance with the leading workers class party, the interests of the citizens they represent politically.

#### Rationality and Humanity

In a world in which the scientific-technical revolution affects all historical processes there arises the question of course how socialism shapes its humanistic nature also with respect to economic necessities and social as well as intellectual-cultural consequences connected with scientific-technical progress.

In the speech the point was made that economic rationality and a humane management of labor conditions were not opposed to each other. Our party resolutions unequivocally focus on directly combining the rationalization and intensification of production with the improvement in labor conditions, the enhancement of labor culture and, primarily, progressive changes in the content of work, to provide more space for personality development. There are naturally still many unsolved problems in this area; heavy physical and hazardous working conditions have not yet been fully eliminated, and new technology at times brings with it monotonous work. Great advances have however already been made. Since as recently as 1971 almost 2 million jobs have been reorganized in industry, construction and transportation so as to further develop the socialist character of labor and its creative elements.

It is part of the humanism in our society that we produce under dignified human conditions and that our production itself aims at dignified human goals, which lie in the ever improving satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs. That has been served by the unity between economic and social policy, and from it the GDR citizens have gained enormous social achievements for which the foreign guests at the conference expressed great respect. They rated our party's long-term social program as socialist humanism in action.

Our citizens know one must work hard for social improvements which, in turn, depend on our economic efficiency, and it depends primarily on the acceleration of our scientific-technical progress.

The further shaping of the developed socialist society calls for more effectively combining the advantages of socialist society with the scientific-technical revolution. That includes, as the speech explained,

controlling, and humanistically shaping, scientific-technical progress for the good of man: "The use of microprocessors, the introduction of new technologies, substituting for traditional raw materials and material and many other results of our scientific-technical progress do not, under socialist conditions, threaten the working people's social security. They do naturally also confront our society with complicated problems. Also among us the working people have to submit to retraining to work themselves into novel and often complicated fields of work. In contrast to the working people in the profit-oriented capitalist society they do so, however, in an atmosphere of safety and social security because the socialist society manages these complicated processes in a manner that conforms to socialism and socialist humanism.

Scientific-technical progress, economic rationality and higher efficiency pose no opposition to socialist humanism. Rather they are decisive means for progressively realizing this humanism and are themselves subject to the criteria of socialist humanism. That forms the objective foundation for a positive attitude toward scientific-technical progress on the part of the overwhelming majority of the GDR working people. Among us one will hardly ever meet capitalism's widespread pessimism with regard to technology."

The Marxist-Leninist conception of the productive forces, of science and technology as revolutionizing factors of history thus, under socialist production relations, is tied in with the conception of socialist humanism. As Friedrich Engels wrote, the increasingly faster progressive development of the productive forces freed from the fetters of the capitalist mode of production leads to the "possibility to ensure an existence for all members of society by means of social production which not only is completely adequate materially and becomes richer from day to day but which also guarantees to them a completely free training and exercise of their physical and intellectual proclivities."<sup>1</sup>

#### Secure Peace--Basic Humanistic Concern

Securing the peace as a precept of socialist humanism calls for active deeds in implementing this great ideal of humanity. This idea and the connection between socialism, real humanism and peace--as cogently explained in the speech--characterized the entire conference. Thus the leaders of the working teams, Erich Hahn, Harald Neubert and Hans Koch, reported unanimously that during the debates the humanistic character of real socialism was mainly derived also from the resolute peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

One cannot speak of socialist humanism without remembering that the Soviet Union had the main share in the destruction of fascism and thus in the liberation of humanity from that inhuman barbarism. That was an acid test and victory for socialist humanism over antihumanism that has its deepest roots in the imperialist social system.



One cannot speak of socialist humanism without emphasizing that it has been the power of real socialism, primarily that of the Soviet Union, that has prevented imperialism for three and a half decades by now from unleashing a world war and has put out many a hotbed. The conference participants fully endorsed the following statement in the speech:

"No imperialist lie of an alleged threat to peace by the Soviet Union can alter the fact that socialism due to its very nature, its social goals and its fundamental interests needs peace and produces peace. There are no forces in socialist society whose interests would conform with rearmament and war, which would profit from war. In fact it needs peace because it can attain its far reaching sociopolitical goals only through peace and the peaceful work of construction. No propaganda of expediency can hide the fact that imperialism inevitably makes for war, that the military-industrial complex constantly pushes the arms race to drive profits up, and that the most reactionary forces of imperialism are bent on finding a way out from their crisis in military adventures and on stopping by force the social progress of humanity."

One cannot speak of socialist humanism without paying tribute to the rigorous and sacrificial struggle by the communists in capitalist countries for peace and detente, against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, against the neutron weapon and the production and stationing in Western Europe of new American missiles, and against the higher military budgets in the NATO countries. The representative of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, for instance, ~~repeated~~ the struggle against the neutron bomb and NATO's missile resolution has turned the peace movement into a broad mass movement. Through mobilizing the broadest political and social forces in the joint struggle for peace new alliance possibilities open up, which also include forces that are politically far removed from the workers movement and that are joining the peace movement for ethical reasons, while they may have utopian notions, certain illusions about the causes for mobilization and the social content of the disarmament struggle, or even anticommunist reservations.

Finally, part of the socialist-humanist position is the realization that the most reactionary circles of imperialism have lately started a general attack upon peaceful coexistence by wishing to alter the military balance of power unilaterally in their own favor by increased armaments, are deliberately exacerbating the international situation and proceeding toward a policy of confrontation, blackmail and threats. The representatives of the fraternal parties were agreed--and this was in line with the Paris appeal of the communist and workers parties of Europe--that the offensive has to be taken in the struggle against those aggressive circles.

Mainly the representatives of the communist parties in the United States, Vietnam, Cuba and Japan analyzed in this context the aggressive intentions of U.S. imperialism and its Carter Administration and the collusion with the Chinese hegemonists. Hiroyuki Okamoto, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan, speaking of the freedom

of the nations, unmasked the policy of the Carter Administration as a policy of strength aiming at reconstituting U.S. military and diplomatic supremacy on the global scale and reestablishing imperialist rule over other nations. He assessed the relationship between China and U.S. imperialism as mutual support for their respective hegemonistic and aggressive designs and from that derived the need for fighting against the Chinese aggression in Vietnam, the policy of extortion of Kampuchea, and the encirclement of the three Indochinese countries by the alliance of China, the United States and Japan.

In concluding the scientific conference in Erfurt, Otto Reinhold stated that the work of Engels, the hundredth anniversary of which had brought together representatives of communist and workers parties in Erfurt, had remained vital and topical as all the other works by the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism. Thus the conference was no mere commemorative event but a militant contribution to one of the most significant issues in the ideological confrontation of the present. Socialist humanism will continue to be given central attention in the theoretical and propaganda work of the communists.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. Friedrich Engels, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Karl/Marx, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 226.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WARSAW PACT PEACE INITIATIVES REVIEWED, EVALUATED

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[Article by Dr Herbert Krolikowski, member, SED Central Committee; state secretary, first deputy minister for foreign affairs: "Initiative for Peace"]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact states, 25 years after founding their peace alliance, in Poland's capital once again took the initiative for safeguarding peace. In view of the dangerous exacerbation of the international situation brought about by the most aggressive forces of imperialism, they continue their socialist peace policy vigilantly and resolutely and are proposing a constructive action program to all states and peoples on stopping the arms race and eliminating the danger of war. At the same time they are taking those measures which, in the interest of their own security and of that of all peoples, ensure the defense capacity they need at all times.

For good reasons the peoples all over the world are watching the course of international events with special attention in these weeks and months, for this, after all, is a question here that affects the life of all humanity directly: Will we succeed in preserving and deepening international detente or is the world going to be thrown into the vortex of adventurous confrontation policy, engaged in by the ruling circles of the United States and other NATO states, with all its dangers to peace and thus to the life of the nations. Through the new initiative by the Warsaw Pact states, adopted at their most recent conference on 14 and 15 May this year in Warsaw, the progressive and peace-loving forces in all countries place their hopes in a recovery of the international situation, the elimination of threatening hotbeds of war and, thus, mainly in preventing the danger of a nuclear conflict, which would of necessity assume a worldwide scope.

In Warsaw, the city that was subjected to unspeakable suffering in the fascist world war, where in the spring of 1955 the socialist countries of Europe sealed their uniting into a resolute peace alliance by signing their "friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty," they now, 25 years later, again took the initiative for further safeguarding peace. The world political importance of the Warsaw proposals lies, not last, in that they point out the way to detente and peace to the nations at a time when the forces of imperialism and hegemonism, through their adventurous course of the arms race and confrontation, are conjuring up serious dangers to world peace.

The Warsaw Pact states consistently pursued the historic peace course in Warsaw which real socialism has been taking since the hour of its birth in 1917 and which for a quarter of a century has proven their defense coalition a factor of peace, and this not only in Europe but all over the world. They had every good reason to announce at their anniversary conference that their socialist alliance serves peace and nothing but peace. Therein, after all, lies its eminent political strength. In the outcome of this tenacious and purposeful work by the states united in the Warsaw Pact, profound changes have occurred in international relations that are providing recognition for the interests of the peoples and more and more respect for reason as they already have been vested in many mandatory enactments under international law.

The main concern of the Warsaw conference of the Political Advisory Commission in 1980 aimed at the preservation and deepening of detente. How could it have been otherwise? The action program proposed at this conference offers a real chance of preventing international relations from being once again dominated by the spirit of cold war and from "propelling mankind toward nuclear world war under the impact of imperialist machinations."<sup>1</sup> It points the way to reinforcing trust, understanding, a permanent peaceful juxtaposition and salutary international cooperation.

"In the present complicated situation," of which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke in Warsaw, "when millions of people worry about the fate of detente and peace,"<sup>2</sup> the proposals contained in the declaration and the announcement will leave clear traces all over the world. The fraternal socialist states, in their initiatives, confirmed their intention smoothly to continue the development of their mutual advantageous relations with the capitalist states in all fields and actively to cooperate with all states in solving the burning issues of our time. They made clear once again that peace and socialism are identical. At the 12th SED Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker said about this policy which is being pursued by the allied socialist states: "Peace holds the uppermost position among the goals pursued by our socialist alliance with its coordinated foreign policy, relying on the unity of action among its member states, and in cooperation with all forces of good will on earth."<sup>3</sup>

That is the goal pursued by the foreign policy effort of socialism from its very beginning. In the mid-1970's it became especially clear that this policy was meeting with success, and mankind began to realize that it need not look at the cycle of war-peace-war as if it were decreed by fate.

#### Imperialism Has Aggravated the International Situation

"The transition from detente to confrontation the U.S. administration is encouraging, and into which it also means to drag the West European NATO countries, has considerably aggravated the international situation."<sup>4</sup> There arises the question where the causes for it have to be sought. Are these short-term operations or is it an objective posed for long term? And what is the implication for the destinies of the nations?

Even at their previous conference in Moscow in 1978 the Warsaw Pact states pointed out that massive attacks against detente were being undertaken by the forces of imperialism and reaction, that they were rekindling the arms race, interfering in the internal affairs of other states and seeking to subject independent states and peoples to their rule. The socialist states have always warned of such developments. In all seriousness it must be said that the international situation has been significantly aggravated--as shown by the Warsaw conference--and that the dangers for peace and detente have grown considerably.

The most aggressive imperialist circles evidently are not willing to accept the consolidation of the positions of socialism, the successes of the peoples in the young national states with their national liberation struggle, and the growth of the democratic, progressive forces in the capitalist world. They seek to push world events in a different direction. Detente and peace, which are furthering social progress in the world, are not agreeable to those forces. They "care for raw material sources, political and military-strategic positions, spheres of influence, and maximum profits."<sup>5</sup> Another factor--closely connected with it--is that in the imperialist countries the effects of the crisis keep weighing more and more heavily on all domains of economic and social life.

Those are the main causes for the exacerbation of the international situation, for the imperialist crusade against detente. Aggressively, they are making the useless attempt of interfering with the objective course of events, to reverse things and accomplish a development that would be in favor of imperialism.

Through activating the imperialist confrontation policy and a feverish mobilization of the NATO states, their deepening of political and military cooperation with China, an ever more aggressive military thrust in Asia, from the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, and in Africa, and through steadily piling up unresolved international problems, imperialism attempts a counter-offensive against socialism, peace and progress.



As Comrade Erich Honecker, mindful of historic experiences, stated at the 12th Central Committee plenum, it was "not the first time for imperialism to seek for a way out of the crisis of its own system by means of military adventures."<sup>66</sup>

Irrefutable facts such as the unscrupulous demarche by the United States against the people's revolution in Iran--the so-called commando raid as well as military maneuvering by the United States in the Persian Gulf area--; its undiminished aid to Israel's terrorist policy of occupation and aggression, the steadily increasing interference since the April revolution of 1978 by U.S. imperialism and reactionary forces of other states in Afghanistan, but also China's attack on Vietnam factually carried out with U.S. approval and the persistent, latent danger in that region--all these facts openly attest to the brutality of the imperialist and reactionary forces. They amount to undeniable evidence for the seriousness of the situation that has arisen.

The long-term strategy of the most aggressive imperialist circles is equivocally proven, above all, by NATO's ratifying the long-term high mobilization program in May 1978, the fateful Brussels missile resolution and the nonratification, by the United States, of SALT II.

The conference of the NATO defense planning commission on 13 and 14 May 1980, held approximately at the same time as the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Commission, concentrated on expanding NATO's operations area and on accelerating the long-term armaments programs decided on in 1978/79. An immediate program was adopted with the purpose of releasing NATO troops of the United States for employment in other regions of the world, especially for expanding the U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. The United States demanded an extra DM 10 billion, short-range, for escalating the arms race and the annual budget increases for all NATO states, decided on in Washington, by from 3 to 4 percent.

The socialist states will not sit idly by, of course. At the Warsaw conference, the necessary foreign policy steps were correlated and those measures were agreed on that will ensure the necessary fighting strength of the socialist military coalition's united armed forces.

NATO policy often has been and is being justified by a "threat from the east" or the "Soviet danger." Recently they will especially resort to Afghanistan and the events around Iran to justify by this historically long unmasked lie their own mobilization, their adventurous policy of military threats and their drive for military superiority. The worsening of the international situation has its origin however neither in Afghanistan nor in Iran, but the most reactionary imperialist circles, and especially the ones in the United States, are without any doubt responsible for it. Who threatens whom, and in what way, is revealed by the mere fact that the NATO long-range mobilization program and the deployment of new types of medium-range missiles in Western Europe are matters that were decided on before the events in Afghanistan occurred and despite urgent warnings by the socialist states.



## The Constructive Detente Concept of Socialism

The Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact presented a constructive program at its Warsaw conference for the decisive questions pertaining especially in the current international situation to the safeguarding of peace. Concrete goals and approaches were presented, as Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the 12th SED Central Committee plenum. "We are," he said, "not in favor of breaking off but of continuing the dialog between east and west, south and north."<sup>7</sup>

That conforms also to the proposal in the declaration by the member states for a meeting on the highest level among the leading representatives of states in all regions of the world. This amounts to establishing the possibilities "for a direct dialog among statesmen of various regions aiming at the safeguarding of peace and cooperation among the peoples and preventing the danger of an atomic catastrophe for mankind."<sup>8</sup> That meeting is meant to be neither a substitution for the world security council nor for the UN General Assembly--as some Western mass media have claimed. The many meetings in Belgrade and the meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and French President Giscard d'Estaing in Warsaw, brought about by the invitation of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Comrade Edward Giersek, have emphatically underscored how useful meetings are in the sense of this proposal by the Warsaw Pact states. There also accrues a special place value in this context to the meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and the FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Belgrade. The Soviet Union and the other socialist states, in implementing the Leninist foreign policy, especially in the current complicated international situation, leave no stone unturned in counteracting any further exacerbation of the international situation. It is in line with the nature of the socialist peace policy that especially the Soviet Union brings its great political weight to bear on carrying on, in the interest of all peoples, the only reasonable course of detente.

The overall results of the May conference of the Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact demonstrated the determination of the fraternal socialist states to preserve and continue detente and mutually advantageous cooperation in the interest of peace in Europe and beyond.

As points of major emphasis for military detente in Europe, the Warsaw Pact member states focus on the consolidation and expansion of confidence forming measures, the renunciation of the use of force or threat of force, the limiting solely to defense needs of the armed forces and armaments of each state or group of states, and the mutual renunciation of attempts to gain military supremacy. They once again declare "that they have never striven and will not strive for military superiority. They consistently stand for the military balance being secured at ever lower levels, for the scaling down and elimination of the military confrontation in Europe."<sup>9</sup>

The socialist states are prepared to negotiate on any types of weapons. Their program comprises all essential aspects of military detente-- the reduction of nuclear and conventional arms, accords on further confidence-building measures and political-legal steps to diminish the danger of war and strengthen the guarantees for the security of the states on our continent.

The implementation of the concrete measures proposed would mean a real increase in security for all European countries and contribute to the strengthening of confidence among them and to the cooling off of the political climate on the continent.

The Warsaw Pact states emphatically call on the Western countries to use the favorable conditions and possibilities their fair proposals have created for effective measures toward military detente and to avoid any acts that would undermine the process initiated by CSCE and block disarmament negotiations.

The socialist states represented at the Warsaw conference once again urgently appeal to the NATO states to refrain from the decision, fatal as it would be for the peace of Europe and the entire world, to produce and deploy new types of American medium range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The results of the most recent conference of NATO's nuclear planning group indicate however that the United States and its allies seek to ignore this appeal and European public opinion. Though the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Commission has appealed for proceeding through negotiations while respecting the security needs of both sides, the NATO states in Bonn once again ignored this call and set down measures that amount to an accelerated implementation of the missile decision of Brussels. To make negotiations possible, however, it would be necessary to cancel that decision or do away with all measures for its implementation.

As a practical course for agreeing on measures in military detente, the socialist states represented at the Warsaw conference reiterated their proposal to summon an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament on the political level. This is a realistic proposal which is topical and tied to deliberations and ideas of other states. The Warsaw Pact states are focusing on a speedy beginning of the practical preparations for that conference and have proposed Warsaw as the place where the conference should be held. They favor intensifying an exchange of views on the concrete questions with respect to the preparation of that conference and conducting consultations to that end among the representatives of the CSCE participants. At the Madrid conference agreements could be made about the time, place and working procedure of that conference, including its first-phase agenda.

The Madrid conference of the CSCE participants must occupy an important place in the struggle for the defense of peace and for consolidating and

and extending the results of the detente process achieved in the 1970's. The socialist states in Warsaw have once again reemphasized that they resolutely and with determination advocate for the Madrid meeting, to begin on 11 November 1980, to advance the security and cooperation in Europe and make progress particularly in the field of military detente. The Madrid meeting should then pick up those positive experiences and results that have been achieved in the last 5 years in implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

#### An Action Program of World Political Scope

The socialist states place great importance on the objective of turning detente and disarmament into a worldwide process. Their Warsaw declaration, along with the appeal, proposed a concrete action program. Along with the ratification of SALT II, the following tasks are the centerpiece of their recommendations on stopping the arms race:

The speediest possible completion of negotiations on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, of radiological and chemical weapons, and on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states which do not have them on their territory; immediate start of negotiations on concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force, ending the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles all the way to their complete abolition, on a ban on the development of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, and on the reduction of military budgets, above all those of the major powers; and on the start of negotiations on limiting and scaling down the level of military presence and military activity in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

The Warsaw Pact states are always ready to establish contacts and conduct a constructive and businesslike dialog on the substance of these proposals with all interested states. At the same time they declare their readiness to examine attentively any proposals by other states on the consolidation of peace, the ending of the arms race, and disarmament.

Proceeding from their often reiterated desire to extend detente to all regions in the world, the socialist states in the Warsaw declaration have reconfirmed their standpoint of resolving permanently and justly by political means any international conflict situations threatening world peace and international security. They are indicating concrete ways for doing so in considering that the elimination of sources of tension and producing real steps toward military detente are mutually inseparable tasks.

The conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Commission had proven once again that the states participating in this defense coalition are fully aware of their great responsibility and approach the solving of the cardinal issues of international life with determination. Through

their businesslike and clear proposals they refute the claims made by imperialist politicians and the Peking leaders that detente had been deadlocked and the possibilities had been exhausted for finding political solutions for complicated international problems. The documents unanimously adopted at the Warsaw conference amount to concrete and feasible recommendations for solving the questions crucial for all, which in the current international situation have bearing on the safeguarding of peace, whereby they constitute a constructive concept of ensuring peace also for the 1980's. Once again the Warsaw conference has demonstrated that the policy of the fraternal socialist states knows neither fluctuations nor inconsistency. It always is deeply and unerringly committed to peace and social progress.

Through the unanimous adoption of the Warsaw documents the Warsaw Pact states have once again placed the great weight of their alliance in the scale of peace and international security. As in the last 25 years they will continue to work with all their strength in the future for the noble goal of socialism of freeing mankind from the scourge of war. The Warsaw resolutions are aimed at fulfilling the peoples' hopes for peace and a life of happiness.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Alongside the USSR for a Resolute Defense of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 April 1980, p 3.
2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 May 1980, p 2.
3. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes, 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum). Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 11.
4. Ibid.
5. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 13.
6. Erich Honecker, " Das Beste . . .," op. cit., p 11.
7. Ibid., p 12.
8. Ibid., p 13.
9. "Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 May 1980, p 3.

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TRENDS, SUCCESSES OF 'SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE' ASSESSED

Effective Ideological Motivation

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[Article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, economist, research program director,  
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SED Central Committee: "Social Security as Achievement and Task"]

[Text] In socialism, social security belongs among the basic characteristics of men's way of life, in capitalism, social insecurity. What is social security based on, what are its characteristics, how does it relate to individual freedom, and which role does work play in ensuring it? What is to be done so that the impulses resulting from social security become highly effective?

Unmistakably, the interest in questions and problems concerning men's quality of life on the whole has grown immensely in the recent past, and this in all parts of the world. The terms "way of life" and "quality of life," which stand for the totality of the forms of human activity in life, for the meaning given to human life, have acquired a firm usage in political and social science vocabulary. It attests to penetrating and far-reaching changes, mainly in the objective conditions and factors of human life, that the questions about what a certain social order, certain social forces and political programs, can or want to effect on the whole for improving human life are now raised more emphatically than they used to be. In line with the experiences of people in the ordinary development of our socialist society Comrade Erich Honecker, at the 12th Central Committee plenum, emphasized the magnitude in the changes of our people's life during the last decade. Socialism in our republic has "a considerable measure of maturity, internal stability and also effectiveness externally."<sup>1</sup>



The people's material standard of living has risen greatly in the 1970's. We almost completed equipping our households with their first durable consumer commodities like television sets, refrigerators and washing machines. That was the decade in which we, however, also completed the transition to the general education polytechnical secondary school, and important advances were made in all fields of intellectual-cultural life. Important things were accomplished in the implementation of the most extensive sociopolitical program in the history of our state which guarantees for all people a high degree of stability and of security in their social conditions of life. All this has penetrating effects on the totality of men's living conditions, their way of life, which mainly also includes that the emphasis has in this field also shifted more clearly still to the qualitative factor. The important thing is to ensure what we have achieved at a rising qualitative level and to take account of the grown qualitative demands for consumer goods and services, which includes satisfying the growing demand in high-grade consumer goods. All this is part and parcel of the task "to ensure what has been achieved thus far and continue gradually elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living."<sup>2</sup>

The growing weight of the qualitative aspect of the people's way of life also means of course that the interaction between the material and the intellectual-cultural conditions of life is becoming more intensive, the specifically socialist quality of our way of life becomes more pronounced, and thus the questions about the factors and conditions that determine the particular quality of the socialist way of life overall, in all basic forms of human activity, become more important and meet with increasing interest.

In the developed capitalist countries a great number of contradictory processes and phenomena lend a greater weight to the questions about the quality of life:

The objective reproduction conditions of labor are changing. Scientific-technical progress, increasing labor pressure and other factors have the effect that health care and training and advanced training gain greater importance objectively. Thus the range of demands the workers class raises in its confrontation with the capitalists must increasingly get wider and go beyond wage demands. There simply are demands which concern the important aspects of the quality of life in toto.

Experience has shown that even a high material standard of living on the part of broad strata will not eliminate the social evils of capitalism, the worry people have about their elemental conditions of subsistence. There is increasing tension within the web of the people's social relations. Even when someone does have a relatively high material standard of living, he is not freed from anxiety and must fear to "crash" socially. And someone who is being courted in business and by advertising--and this all the more persistently the more difficult economic growth



becomes-- , but must knuckle under at work and--consequently--away from his job as well,<sup>3</sup> finds out practically that there is more to a good and meaningful life than high real wages.

Finally it must not be overlooked that the much overused catch phrase of the "quality of life" in capitalist countries constitutes some sort of modern "supplication of heaven" and in a very demagogical fashion is offered as a substitution for unsatisfied demands for improved material living conditions. The thesis that "man does not live by bread alone" is then turned into the demand they should not ask for higher wages and not only look at the material side but have more respect for the "inner values." It has nothing to do with truly improving the objective conditions for a finer quality of life.

In contradiction to the constant claims by bourgeois ideology that men's general value orientations are for all intents and purposes identical "in east and west," and that the concrete forms of life primarily depend on the income level and are subject to the general scientific-technical level, it turns out that the essential qualitative criteria for men's way of life in capitalism and socialism diverge more and more. This results from the fact that the opposite specific inevitabilities working at the depth of the social processes, and thus of men's ways of life, are becoming more and more pronounced and increasingly affect the concrete forms of life. Among the most important of these conditioning inevitabilities which penetrate the entire way of life is men's social security under socialism and the equally objectively conditioned social insecurity in capitalism.

#### **Social Security, an Essential Part of Socialism**

Social security is a basic criterion for men's way of life, a general criterion effectively qualifying all vital areas, resulting from the essence of socialism. It profoundly affects men's spirit of life, their sense of personal value, the quality of their interhuman relations, the totality of the advantages and impulses of our socialist order. It is among the decisive general criteria of the socialist way of life and one of its historic advantages.

Social security has been and remains a basic element of the socialist idea, an irrevocable goal of the revolutionary workers movement. It is a task of such a high rank that one surely may say: The objectively historic necessity of socialism, its deep moral justification are essentially to be derived from its ability to tap the potentials of the modern productive forces for the enrichment of human life, and this for all members of society. As long ago as in 1845 Friedrich Engels reasoned for the social concern of socialism by saying it would "create for all people a life situation where each can freely develop his human nature, live in a human relationship with his neighbors and need not fear any violent upheavals in his life situation."<sup>4</sup>

Certainly there are some external similarities, differences quantitative in kind in the materially objective and also in some social living conditions of men in capitalist and socialist countries. But as far as the social security for working people is concerned, the difference existing is elemental and general: it exists in socialism but no. in capitalism.

No one will deny that in capitalist countries also there are improvements in men's social living conditions and advances in education, health protection and so forth. Yet these are no achievements of capitalism. On the contrary, they have to be bullied out of capitalism. In socialism, social progress results from the nature of this mode of production, but not so in capitalism. There social improvements have to be gained by the working people in bitter struggle against monopoly capital. And these achievements of their struggle are always in jeopardy; even to preserve them they have to struggle stubbornly. And they also always only concern particular aspects of men's living conditions. Social security is unobtainable in capitalism.

Social security is indivisible. Either it exists for all members of society or not at all. Unemployment, for example, in no way means that only the directly affected segment of the people who are able to work has become socially insecure. The fear of becoming unemployed has still more devastating effects on the totality of men's living conditions; this fear affects those who are working. They are the ones who must knuckle under and whose human dignity is besmirched each day.

It is an expression of the humanistic nature of socialism that it truly brings about the elevation of the material and cultural living conditions of men for all, for every individual. This term, "for all," is underscored time and time again in the works by the founding fathers of Marxism-Leninism and in our party documents when the goals and ideals of the workers movement come under discussion. Capitalism, Karl Marx wrote, makes for the sort of "development of the social productive forces and the creation of material production conditions which alone can form the real basis of a higher form of society the basic principle of which is the full and free development of each individual."<sup>5</sup> And Lenin stressed as the goal of socialism "ensuring the highest welfare and free all-round development of all members of society."<sup>6</sup>

These statements also make clear what we have to understand as social security in socialism. Social security of course means protection for everyone from material hardships and hunger, and from "violent upheavals of his life situation," that is social security at old age, in the case of illness and so forth. Even these elemental social securities do not exist for all people in any capitalist country. But social security means more than that:

It means the certitude that the material and cultural standard of living rises subject to the growing material and intellectual wealth of society and one's own performance. This fact it is to a large extent that makes

for the social optimism of men in socialism. And its weight is all the greater, the more far-reaching the changes are that are caused by the progress of science and technology and are signaled for the future.

In other words, social security is not confined to the material conditions of life. Real socialism eliminated illiteracy as fast as hunger. In the intellectual-cultural field--the level of education, the variety of men's intellectual-cultural needs and the prerequisites for their satisfaction--socialism has outdistanced the developed capitalist countries by miles.

The self-awareness and world-awareness caused by the security of the social conditions of life of men and their sovereignty in structuring their individual spheres of life and in dealing with other people are powerfully being bolstered by political and ideological factors. This sense of security also stems from the fact that every citizen of a socialist country can simply take it for granted that his state will do the utmost for safeguarding the country and the peace in the world, and for promoting the forces of progress and national independence. The internal stability of the political system in the socialist countries and the evidently increased instability in the political system of many capitalist countries play a great and increasing role in reinforcing the sense of social security in socialism.

#### Social Security and Freedom

To the extent that people come to recognize more clearly social security in socialism and social insecurity in the capitalist countries as an essential criterion for differentiating between social systems, bourgeois ideology is making greater efforts at not only deprecating or even stigmatizing social security but at presenting it as a negative value. This in every way is based on the centuries-old theoretical-ideological tradition of bourgeois economic liberalism, the basic tenet of which is that the principle of competition, the carrying out of opposing interests of men purportedly caused by the natural egoism of men ultimately produces the best result for society, and it is understood that this mechanism in competition implies the right to private property and the contrast between the poor and the rich. The idea of social equality and social security is of course alien to that concept.

Only during the short span of time when the bourgeoisie, because of a relatively high rate of economic growth over a longer period, gradually began to believe in its own convenient lie that capitalism had managed to control the problems of economic growth, its ideologists indulged themselves in the notion that capitalism could ensure social security, "welfare for all." That also was the title of a book, and its author, Ludwig Erhard--praised by FRG ideologists as the father of the "social market economy" to this day--, has meanwhile, when times got worse, departed rather quickly from those notions. He incessantly warned

against those who "do not want or cannot understand that by their demand for 'more social security' . . . they grant the state increasingly more rights to interfere in their private sphere whereby they will at long last become totally dependent on the collective."<sup>7</sup>

The price for social security is the loss of individual freedom--that, roughly, is a main argument bourgeois ideology levels against socialism. No longer, however, can they deny that socialism--and only socialism--can ensure social security for all. "If the citizens in Western states realize these preconditions by which communism knows of no unemployment problem they hardly will want to see those preconditions be brought to realization in the West," an entrepreneurs publication has said; each would "be employed by the state wherever he is needed in accordance with state economic plans," there was no freedom in choosing one's trade, no choice of a job and so forth.<sup>8</sup>

Unemployment and the fear of unemployment have grown. Since the 1974/75 crisis monopoly capital but the working people in the capitalist world as well have to live with the idea that massive unemployment has become permanent and the risk of increasing unemployment is very real. As the 1929/33 world economic crisis proved as untenable the preferred argument advanced by bourgeois ideology that the workers themselves had to be blamed for unemployment--"he who wants to work will find work, too"--, the explanation under today's condition that unemployment is the price for certain other advantages of the "market economy" turns out to be just as cynical. And then there is nothing left actually but trying to belittle the effects of unemployment as such. That in turn ultimately is possible only when the role of work as the most important human life activity, as the basis for man's existence and the field in which his personality forms is disparaged. And this also is precisely the direction followed in recent times by purposeful efforts on the part of bourgeois ideology. The question is being raised, for instance: "Are we running into a crisis for the meaning of work? Is the vital value of work confined henceforth to hobbies?"<sup>9</sup>

Among the answers one finds claims that "for the individual, personal work to assure his existence no longer is necessary."<sup>10</sup> How is that explained? "The unemployed, after all, keep alive too!" That no doubt is the most radical remedy bourgeois ideology could want to prescribe for common sense which regards unemployment and subsistence security as incompatible. Especially in connection with the effects of micro-electronics, robot technology, which no doubt will further increase the social insecurity in the capitalist countries, the media in those countries loudly ponder the thought whether there is much work left that would "constitute a value as such." And then they say "People do not care for their work as such" but only for their income. It is why one should not engage in employment therapy but think about distribution questions. Pictures are being drawn that show how the robots do the work and the unemployed are "lying in the sun."<sup>11</sup> At the conference on "Socioeconomic Problems and Application Possibilities for Microelectronics in the Labor Process" (September 1979 at Randvoort, Netherlands) the question was raised how men could be furnished with a new sense of life



when this life no longer is based on work.

There is nothing novel at all of course in the idea of keeping some of the people, who cannot be assigned to useful activities, happy by "bread and the show of the circus." That idea was born during the decline of the Roman Empire, nearly two thousand years ago. Evidently, all that has been referred to here essentially has nothing to do with the effects of technology, is not a general "identity crisis of labor" but rather a crisis in the existence of the exploiter order.

Such arguments obviously are due mainly to the effort of counteracting the growing realization that social security counts among the highest social values, that it affects all areas of life, and that it is prerequisite to realizing actually all social basic rights--the right to work, to education, recreation, old-age care and health care, the right to a free choice of occupation, and of the job--, and that social security is one of the essential factors causing the qualitative superiority of the socialist way of life.

Social security is indispensably prerequisite to personal freedom. It alone makes it possible for the individual to plan and purposefully pursue what he wants to do in life and to make a success of it together with others, by carefully balancing his own inclinations and abilities against social requirements and possibilities. However brutally it may want to falsify reality, bourgeois ideology will not be able to obscure for any length of time the fact that men under the conditions of social security in the socialist countries possess vastly greater choices with respect to their occupation, their level of education and their jobs.

The sociopolitical model of a "social and free market economy" which has been hailed for decades, mainly by FRG ideologists and politicians, assigns a central spot to the claim that this market economy--in contradistinction to the planned economy--makes possible the freedom to choose what one wants to consume and one's occupation and job, and this presumably thanks to the beneficial effects of the market mechanism which, in an efficient and most elastic fashion, would keep economic magnitudes constantly in equilibrium through the constant balance between demand and supply. Nothing need to be said here about how the market regulates production, which really functions most miserably.<sup>12</sup> But as to the labor market, labor as a commodity--which Karl Marx demonstrated long ago--, there always is a shortage of jobs and an excess in the supply of manpower. Not only that the worker in capitalism cannot get away from the capitalist class, from exploitation, in addition he is supposed to be grateful to an individual capitalist for being allowed to work for him and to be exploited by him. Not the worker has a choice but the capitalist has one in that he can select from the excess supply of manpower those he deems most suitable, those who will diligently produce surplus value.

The possibilities for choosing a trade and a job are most rigorously curtailed in times of crisis, much more so in fact than indicated by unemployment figures, for instance. If more than 20 percent of the school



graduates cannot find an apprenticeship at all, a higher percentage still there will have been most likely that simply took any training job that was available. The same holds true for one's regular job. And bourgeois jurisdiction will see to it that the concept of "reasonable job" be given the broadest interpretation in the interest of this entrepreneurs' economy, a striking designation for the market economy given once by Otto Wolff von Amerongen himself, the president of the Federal Chamber of Industry and Commerce of the FRG,<sup>13</sup> that they can in fact enforce, for instance, relocation of residence through threatening the withholding of unemployment insurance benefits. This is the soil on which one finds residues of early capitalist or almost feudal labor relations thrive through the borrowing or lending of manpower or the extortion and despoliation by tenants in a personal relationship of dependency.

### Concerning the Role of Labor

Social security is indispensably prerequisite to forming and developing the new, typically socialist, impulses of social and, in particular, economic progress. The question as to the impulses of labor in socialism and to the sources from which socialism derives its social energies has been the focal point of the issue between the adherents and enemies of socialism as long as the idea of a socially just social order of human dignity has been in existence. The issue always again concerned itself with the question how people would work under social conditions when not compelled to work either by external coercion or the discipline of the cane or the discipline of hunger. Why should under such conditions people be motivated to work in the first place? What would their motivation be? The arguments by all reactionaries why socialism is impossible and is unable to last have always been, and are, that it would eventually collapse under its own inertia because of the absence of such work impulses as greed for possession, poverty and misery, and direct economic and noneconomic coercion. The classic author among the reactionaries, Thomas Malthus, considered socialism unable "to produce the spur for action which alone could overcome men's natural laziness and stir them up for a proper culture on earth and for producing the comforts needed for their own well-being."<sup>14</sup>

In conformity with reality, however, the adherents to the idea of a necessary social renewal have shown that it is precisely the capitalist order as any other exploiter order before that prevents the abilities and talents of the people from unfolding, that in it the limited goals of production thwart the development of the productive forces and the needs of the people are not satisfied to the extent allowed, on objective grounds, by the given developmental level of the productive forces. From there they derive the conviction--meanwhile confirmed by life in the mightily developing socialist countries--that only socialism will, for the first time, make possible the true unfolding of mass creativity in the most important area of human activity, in the field of labor. In contrast to the exploiter order, utopian socialists in their social designs expressed the yearnings of toiling men not for a liberation

from labor but for the liberation of the workers from exploitation and suppression, for the free development of human essential capacities. Then also, Thomas More's "Utopia" describes a social condition--even though in visionary radiance--where "there is nowhere a possibility for idleness or a pretext for laziness, where no one sits around idly,"<sup>15</sup> "but everyone is diligently engaged in his trade without, however, toiling through uninterrupted labor, like a beast of burden, from early morning to late at night; for that would be more than a lavish toil."<sup>16</sup> Charles Fourier, one of the most important utopian socialist, gives a downright emphatic description of men's fervid activity: Men "throw themselves at their work with a zeal that mocks any impediments."<sup>17</sup> Fourier finds the cause for it mainly in that in the new society each can pursue the occupation for which he is most talented and from which he therefore derives the greatest satisfaction.

Marx and Engels were resolutely opposed to regarding work as a necessary evil as well as against the notion work could once become mere game. Bourgeois ideology, to the extent that it deals with labor altogether, sees in the worker always an object, a production factor, a special kind of working tool, but not a creatively engaged subject. This too is an absolutely apt reflection of the manner in which capital deals with labor in practical terms. This kind of negative valuation of labor we can find, for example, in Adam Smith, the most important representative of the classical bourgeois political economy. He thinks work is a sacrifice for the worker, a sacrifice of rest, freedom and happiness, a constant and strenuous overcoming of obstacles. Marx commented on that: "But that this overcoming of obstacles is an exercise of freedom as such--and that, furthermore, the external purposes are divested of the appearance of merely external natural necessity and are posited as purposes, posited by the individual himself--thus become self-realization, objectification of the subject, and that means real freedom, with its action simply being work, is something of which A. Smith has no idea either."<sup>18</sup> Marx and Engels proved that work is the most important sphere of human activity, man's most important vital expression through which he became a man in the first place and through which he effects the upward development of the human species. A true loss of meaning in human work would be tantamount to a degeneration of the human species.

The objective necessity of socialism was, essentially, explained by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels by that a society has to be created "in which, on the one hand, no one may shift his own share in productive labor, this natural condition of human existence, onto others, and in which, on the other hand, productive labor, instead of a means for enslavement, becomes a means for the liberation of men in that it offers each individual the opportunity to form and exercise all his abilities, physical as well as mental, in every direction, so that from a burden it becomes a joy."<sup>19</sup>

Labor could of course not play this role in the process of man's social as well as individual life, if it were to become--as Fourier had claimed--

mere sport and amusement. Labor will always remain hardship too. No social condition is conceivable where it could be nothing but joy and pleasure all day long for every individual, as it were. Marx was emphatic about our having to understand work as a necessity, as a basic condition for the existence of human life in all social eras. And with respect to socialism, he said: "Freedom in this field can only lie in that socialized man, the associated producers, regulate rationally this metabolism of theirs with nature and place it under their collective control instead of being governed by it as of a blind power; handling it with the least expenditure of effort and under conditions most dignified and adequate to their human nature. Yet this always remains a realm of necessity."<sup>20</sup> The sense of honestly doing one's duty is, especially in socialism, one of the most important elements of human self-assurance, one of the lofty sentiments only work can bestow as it increasingly challenges the creativity of men in socialist society.

#### Released Social Energies

The first practical evidence for the production of social energies due to the liberation of the workers class from exploitation, new and totally inconceivable under the conditions of private property, came from the communist subbotniks. The fact that under socialist property conditions man can develop his creative capacities in the most important area of his life's activity, in his work, and that work for the first time can become a matter of honor, of glory, and that production here for the first time is borne by the initiative and the conscious creativity of the immediate producers who also without restraint enjoy its benefits--all this was, is and remains the deepest cause for the historic justification, the need, and the superiority of socialism. "Only now," Lenin wrote, "the possibility is being created at a broad scope, truly for the masses to develop a spirit of enterprise, competition and bold initiative. For the first time after centuries of working for others, of unfree labor for the exploiters, the possibility arises that one work for oneself and do so while relying on all the achievements of modern technology and culture."<sup>21</sup> Only in a socialist country can there be worker personalities who are as well known all over the country as are politicians, artists and scientists.

At the same time, and precisely in connection with his tribute to the world historic importance of the communist subbotniks, Lenin laid great stress on pointing out that the struggle for high labor discipline and for rational labor organization would become harder than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie had been because that would call for the "most persistent, stubborn and strenuous heroism in everyday mass labor."<sup>22</sup> This description has remained correct to this day: on the one hand the massive heroism of labor, in no way conceivable under capitalist conditions, but on the other hand, the heavy struggle for high labor discipline everywhere and all the time and for rational labor organization in line with our social possibilities and requirements.

That the impulses inherent in socialism become increasingly more effective in men's everyday conduct is one of the basic requirements in shaping the developed socialist society. That also means that such rudimentary precepts as a high working culture, the full utilization of working hours, the thrifty handling of material and energy, and the careful maintenance of working tools become second nature.

Of great importance for developing men's creative initiative is a meaningful combination between intellectual and material incentives for work, the rigorous implementation of the performance principle. This principle expresses the measure of social justice attained and attainable in socialism: The social recognition, including the income allocation, goes to all by the same measure--the work performance, and not by where one comes from or what one owns. Implementing the performance principle calls for much consistency of practical management activity. This consistency to a large extent controls the speed of economic progress, and hence of social progress as such. The performance principle, material incentives on the one hand and labor motivation as an idea, on the other, condition and fertilize each other. Experiences have taught us--and the economic advances made especially on the basis of the policy of the eight and ninth party congresses have underscored it--that labor motivation as an idea--the readiness to achieve a lot for society, for "outsiders"--can develop best when one's own experience has shown that good work makes itself paid, that individual, collective and overall social interests coincide in socialism. Wherever much money is made the easy way or where, conversely, considerable and successful personal efforts in education and training, on behalf of fine work results, fail to find material expression, those fundamental connections will not be demonstrated through one's own practical experiences, for which reason political-ideological work also will be less fruitful. Where material and ideational labor motivation work in the same direction, mass initiative will develop best.

The historic experience of the socialist countries confirms that "upheavals in one's personal life situation," unemployment and the upkeep of parasitical classes and strata are by no means necessary as impulses--as bourgeois ideologists would want us to believe. These experiences, however, also tell us that the impulses resulting from social security do not necessarily and by themselves become highly effective but that it requires effective ideological work and high-grade management activity, and that an effective combination between social, collective and individual interests and systematic efforts for enhancing the intellectual-cultural level of the people, their socialist consciousness, are required.

#### FOOTNOTES

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2. Ibid., p 10.
3. "It's not only a matter of money," a Turkish colleague has said, "the job has to become more human. When anyone of us has to go and take a leak, he must ask a dozen times for permission to do so." Quoted from Michael Busse, "Arbeit ohne Arbeiter" (Work Without Workers), Frankfurt/Main, 1978, p 27.
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5. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 618.
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9. BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT, Frankfurt/Main, 7 March 1980, p 1.
10. Ibid.
11. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 19 October 1979, p 35.
12. Cf. Harry Nick, "The Dilemma of the 'Market Economy,'" EINHEIT, No 4, 1979, pp 373 ff.
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14. Thomas Robert Malthus, "Versuch ueber des Bevoelkerungsgesetz" (An Essay on the Principle of Population), Berlin, 1900, p 443.
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17. Charles Fourier, "Theorie der vier Bewegungen und der allgemeinen Bestimmungen" (Theorie des Quatre Mouvements et des Destinees Generales), Vienna, 1966, p 226.
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19. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 274 f.



20. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 828
21. V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize the Competition," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 405.
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#### Differentiated Development

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[Article by Prof Dr Rudi Weidig, director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "On the Development of the Socialist Way of Life in the GDR"]

[Text] The development of the socialist way of life is based on the socialist mode of production and of necessity finds its centerpiece in conscientious, honest and socially useful work. Shaping it means inevitability, achievement and task at once. The growing uniformity in the principles of the socialist way of life in no way amounts to a levelling process in men's life activities but a process that includes the differentiation and variety of interests, needs and inclinations.

One of the central concerns of our humanistic party policy lies in purposefully developing the socialist way of life in all social domains, social classes and strata of our socialist society. In the program issued by the ninth party congress, our party gives itself the task to see to it "that the characteristic mode of social life and individual conduct that conforms to the developed socialist society will increasingly become more prominent in all domains of life--at work and at leisure, in the work collective, the family and all the habits in life."<sup>1</sup> That means inevitability, achievement and task at once. The development of the socialist way of life in terms of its social content means, after all, that the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people will structure by what they do their living conditions and modes of conduct in conformity with their common basic interests and the ideas scientifically established in Marxism-Leninism.

Fundamentally new attitudes toward life have already been formed in all social groups of our society with the advance of socialism. They find their clear expression in the working people's massive creative activity

in socialist competition, in the development and further perfection of socialist democracy and the all-round development of people's physical and mental capacities and abilities toward solving the economic, scientific, technical and social tasks in our social development. Such features and characteristics of socialist conduct as a resolute dedication to the safeguarding of peace, our firm friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, our active solidarity with the peoples struggling for their national and social liberation, the various initiatives for an accelerated enforcing of rationalization and for decisively improving our labor productivity, the development of social relations among the working people based on comradely cooperation, the extensive development of collectivity, and the fine education and training already are typical of the vast majority of the working people in our country and a clear expression of the humanistic character of the socialist social order in the GDR.

The socialist way of life focuses on the well-being of the people and thus on their conscious commitment and active dedication to improving the life of the individual, the collectives and all of society. It is incompatible with a passive attitude, mere contemplativeness, or idly waiting for further improvements in our lives. A way of life that implies one's own contribution to improving the material and intellectual-cultural life of the people, equality, freedom and social security is deeply rooted in the social interests of the revolutionary workers movement, in the traditions, attitudes and ideals of the revolutionary workers class.

#### Inevitability, Achievement and Task

The socialist way of life is a way of life of working classes and strata, aimed at the development of the kind of social conditions that make man the measure of all things. It is aimed at the development of his creativity, his intellectual and physical abilities and activities at an increasingly higher level, and it is based on social security, safety, vivid collectivity and the constant improvement in working and living conditions. That this amounts to increasingly more pronounced criteria in the real life of the vast majority of the people in all classes and strata of our society is clearly expressed in our society every day. That is attested by the successful balance-sheet of our economic and social policy, especially since the eighth and ninth party congresses, the upswing in housing construction, the greater net income and annual vacation received by the working people, especially the workers class, and the care for children, working women and the veterans of labor.<sup>2</sup> The direct working and living conditions of millions of working people have been noticeably improved.

The growing development of the socialist way of life is shown by various forms and the high level of social activity. Sociological surveys established that in Dresden Bezirk, for example, 64 percent of the workers, 75 percent of the employees, and 44 percent of the cooperative farmers

do volunteer work in various social functions in their enterprise or residential area whereby they are actively and directly involved in the management and planning of collective and social tasks. Various forms of socialist collectivity and the emergence of appropriate attitudes and modes of conduct are widespread.

Socialism ensures a way of life which, based on a fine education and training for the working people in all classes and strata, challenges and promotes them. More than 77 percent of all the GDR working people has obtained specialized degrees or advanced training. The proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled workers has dropped from 70 percent in 1955 to 22.6 percent in 1978. In the young generation that gets the full benefit of the socialist educational system the social group of semiskilled and unskilled workers will no longer be reproduced. By the end of the century that social group of semiskilled-unskilled--which by and large still typified the training skills and social condition of the workers class in the GDR 30 years ago--will hardly any longer exist.

The socialist way of life and the formation of their essential features in all classes and strata of our society is anything but the illusory dream image the bourgeois ideologists indefatigably insist it is against all evidence of reality. A most real and characteristic feature, a general inevitability of socialism it is. Inevitably the socialist way of life "is grounded in the socialist mode of production."<sup>3</sup> As the foundation for the development of socialist society, the basic premise for the economic and social progress of socialist society, the socialist mode of production can fully effectively come into its own only when the subjects of this mode of production, the working people in all classes and strata, conduct themselves as the socialist proprietors and producers. Thus the socialist mode of production then also is an essential aspect of the socialist way of life which, in turn, is one of the decisive social and ideological impulses for further perfecting the socialist production relations and developing the modern productive forces.

There is nothing rigid about the socialist mode of production. Its formation and development is a contradictory and highly dynamic process shaped by the working people consciously under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party. Any given developmental level of the socialist mode of production thus also reflects materialized and objectified attitudes and conduct by the people. That is to say that, as Karl Marx said, the "manner in which people produce their foodstuffs already is a specific type of activity by these individuals, a specific way in which they live their lives, a specific mode of living."<sup>4</sup>

Part of the formation and development of the socialist way of life finally also is that the current and future requirements for the development of the socialist mode of production always give rise to new demands for social life and individual conduct. This process has by no means been terminated and is not yet complete--however much has already been achieved that is great and the real substance of the socialist way of life in our time

already constitutes a great accomplishment of socialism. The general formation of the socialist way of life in all classes and strata in our society as well as in the personal lives of all working people is a task that has to be solved together with the further shaping of the developed socialist society at a constantly higher level. That includes "preserving and protecting and, at once, further developing and perfecting what has been achieved through struggle."<sup>5</sup> A simple and smooth path it is not, simply because the socialist way of shaping life includes steadily elevating the socialist consciousness of the masses, their education, their technical skills, their general culture as well as overcoming obsolete habits, traditions and customs.

The socialist way of life, safeguarding what exists and progressively shaping living conditions at work and leisure, must above all be placed on a stable economic basis. The much more complicated reproduction conditions of recent years call for great efforts by socialist society and all its citizens for ensuring and systematically further developing the high level attained in living conditions. Once again, at the 12th Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker said the most important thing was "significantly to improve our country's economic efficiency."<sup>6</sup> It means that the struggle for developing the modern productive forces and their efficient use, and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, is the decisive link in the chain for increasing the rate of economic growth above and beyond normal measures.

From there new criteria also arise for the political, economic and scientific-technical creativity of the workers, employees, intellectuals and the other working people. Conscientious, honest, socially useful work, the centerpiece of the socialist way of life, becomes increasingly the crucial testing ground and essential condition for all sociopolitical progress. More than ever the most important point is to provide an atmosphere everywhere in which initiative, creative contest, a sense of responsibility, love for work and revolutionary deeds for strengthening socialism as well as our readiness for the protection and defense of our achievements can fully develop. Because without honest and diligent work, without conscious and systematically organized mass action, mobilized by our Marxist-Leninist party, without the dedicated commitment of millions to their own interests, without each individual taking an energetic stand for the good of all members of our truly humane society, we will not be able to find those answers, solutions and alternatives which are urgently needed for coping with the considerably higher requirements of the 1980's.

Sociological investigations and labor surveys demonstrate in this context that the greater potentials extant in education and training, in creative activity and initiative as well as in the socialist attitude toward work can mainly be developed extensively in places where in a good work atmosphere creative participation flourishes, socialist rationalization goes together with concern with working conditions, with the targeted reduction or elimination of heavy physical, hazardous or mentally

undemanding work, where work is well organized, the workers are informed at the proper time and thoroughly, and their counsel is listened to, where stable collective relations are developed and material and moral recognition is paid in accordance with actual personal and collective services performed for society. Violations of these proven socialist management principles, in turn, often cause dissatisfaction, deficient labor discipline, inadequate performance and fluctuations.

A key function here lies in setting up appropriate working conditions and assigning work that is mentally demanding. Various sociological surveys have shown that the readiness of the working people to take an active part in enforcing scientific-technical progress is all the more developed the more they are aware that this produces high performance improvements, and the more directly they sense the concern for good working conditions that is connected with the introduction of new technology and techniques, especially a reduction of heavy and hazardous work, work that is mentally more demanding, more varied and more interesting, while the high level of knowledge and skill which most working people have reached conforms with their actual job requirements and can be put into effect in the work they do.

#### Unity and Differentiation in the Development of the Socialist Way of Life

It is therefore part of further improving the efficiency of the party's political leadership activity always to keep accurately in mind the general and the special conditions, the uniform and differentiating features in the development of the socialist way of life. As a historically novel qualitative element of the socialist way of life a special point is usually made of the formation of common traits in all classes and strata and social groups in our society. And indeed, the basic trend of the socialist way of life, which also more and more prevails in the SED's purposeful alliance policy throughout the practical life of our society, lies in the development of basic identities in the essential conditions of life and modes of conduct. This, objectively, stems from the fact that we are here concerned with the development of the conditions of life and modes of conduct of comradely associated working classes and strata which by their activity produce the material and intellectual wealth of all society themselves. The uniformity in the basic traits of the socialist way of life reflects the uniformity of the basic social relationship between the working people in all classes and strata and the socialist ownership in the means of production and the socialist workers and farmers state, the uniformity of the basic social interests, the social goals and the growing political-moral unity of the classes and strata in our society.

Such a way of life is unprecedented in all of history. In the exploiter society the fundamental conditions of life, the goals in life and the modes of conduct of the various classes are socially distinct and marked by class antagonism.



It therefore is an important historic achievement, one of the greatest social accomplishments of socialism in fact, that it not only did away with the exploiter classes and their parasitical way of life that was predicated on the exploitation of the working people, but also, through the new power and property relations, created those decisive conditions that make it possible for the working classes and strata to fashion their own way of life in accordance with their own basic social interests and on the basis of their own work performance. Thus, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, essential uniform traits of the socialist way of life are forming in all social classes and strata. They are various in kind. They express themselves, for instance, in the comprehensive development of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism as much as in their collectivity and comradesly cooperation, in their social activities and their sense of social responsibility, which gives rise to appropriate modes of conduct, in their socialist attitude toward work, public property and scientific-technical progress, and in their active dedication to the consolidation of socialist state power and of peace. Such achievements of socialism as the right to work, social security, equality and safety are characteristic of all classes and strata in our society. Extensive democratic participation in the management and planning of social affairs and access to education, training and the treasures of culture and art shape their life. Such and other similar common properties are of crucial importance for the development of concerted social activities by the working people in all classes and strata in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

The ever increasing common traits in the basic features of socialist life activity are supplemented by a variety of manifestations of diversified differences. Diversified processes in the development of the socialist way of life are found in the uneven levels in which characteristics that in principle are uniform have been molded and also in that there exist different criteria in the concrete conditions of life among the various social groups and individuals. With respect to which, the following general remark is called for:

The growing homogeneity in the basic features of the socialist way of life in no way means uniformity or the levelling of living conditions or interests, abilities and talents of men. If bourgeois ideologists keep trumpeting around in the world that socialism, in theory and practice, negates individuality and independence altogether, and the wealth of men's social activity in life, their anticommunist disparagement of real socialism is all too apparent. Life itself gives the lie to them. And it is this life that confirms that not until socialism those material and ideational premises have been created that allow the working people to develop and bestir themselves as personalities interested in many different things, cultivate individual capabilities, talents and inclinations, and thus invest their lives with content and culture. Increasing collectivity and growing individuality and variety in the personal lifestyle are not opposed but harmoniously complementary in socialism. Thus

the increasing diversity and variety of the socialist personalities' interests, needs, relations and activities at work and at leisure are essential factors enriching their common properties without the constant encouragement of which socialist collectivity is impossible. This must be stressed for the mere fact that the all-round development and use of the abilities and talents of personality, the respect for and encouragement of man's individuality, and the variety of needs and the diversification of education are indispensable prerequisites for the development of creativity and for the further enrichment of personal and public life, and are a condition for the growing wealth of social relations and the increasing attraction of socialist common traits. These differentiations that conform to the socialist way of life are a progressive factor with respect to the initiative and public activity of men in our society and are being encouraged.

Altogether, the development of the socialist way of life is a contradictory process of constant confrontation, where new things grow and old ones have to be done away with. In making new modes of conduct, relations and activities at work and at leisure and in the family grow extensively on behalf of public and personal progress, we must however also resolutely turn back and overcome any conduct that is alien to the essence of socialism--like irresponsibility, passivity, insouciance, or the attempt to live at the expense of others and similar traits. Our party never harbored the illusion that a process as revolutionary and penetrating as the comprehensive enforcement of the socialist way of life in all domains and the life of every man could be brought to realization within a brief period and without conflict. The way of life conforming to the old society took centuries and many generations to evolve and has deeply affected, and deformed, a large part of the working people, and has molded many of their habits, views and attitudes that, objectively, oppose the interests of the workers class. Furthermore, the enemy, via his mass media and through many other channels, does everything he can to export his ideology and the forms of his way of life to the socialist countries and to preserve and nourish modes of thought that are alien to socialist attitude. All this has brought it about that petty bourgeois modes of thinking and conduct have not yet been done away with everywhere, that some citizens are still trying, for instance, egoistically to violate the principle of distribution according to performance, to exploit insufficient controls for enriching themselves personally without doing any work, or to "make money" out of defects in labor organization. That then is why the development of the socialist way of life calls for effective ideological work and the rigorous application of socialist legality and discipline, so as to turn down the old and more and more help the new to prevail.

The socialist society has a social structure that is new in kind. Class antagonism, which for millenia dominated the relations among the various groups of people, has been abolished, but not all class and other social differences have by that token been overcome as yet. Those social differentiations as they exist between the workers class and the class of the

cooperative farmers, between these two classes and the social stratum of the intelligentsia and the other working people and between those who primarily work physically and primarily work mentally, and between the urban and the rural population, are reflected in the differentiated development of the socialist way of life. It means the socialist way of life has an internal social structure. It is fashioned primarily by the workers class, the main political and social force, but it develops as a mode of life of socially differentiated groups of working people and, within the scope of increasingly common features, also is marked by any particular conditions of work and life, traditions and functions in socialist society. There are for instance particulars and differentiated conditions in the development of the socialist way of life as between life in the city and in the countryside, in the large city, the small town or the village, in industrial sprawls or in agricultural areas with a smaller population density. These differentiations range all the way to the specific conditions for satisfying needs and for leisure-time conduct and family life.

As far as differences go in the shaping of the socialist way of life brought about by the level currently attained for the social productive forces, they can of course not be resolved immediately and all at once. Scientific-technical progress and, on its basis, socialist intensification are the crucial link for systematically forming those material conditions more and more comprehensively, which will facilitate the gradual reduction and elimination of these social differentiations.

To create the high level of the social productive forces required for it, it is necessary extensively to develop in all classes and strata in our society our social activity, creativity, and a performance willingness and attitude as the essential substance of the socialist way of life. For this it is necessary to use still more effectively the general features of the socialist way of life, fashioned especially by the workers class and its world-outlook, as well as the specific conditions, facilities and functions of the various social classes, strata and social groups, on behalf of social progress. That also implies our fully developing the potentials of public property and of cooperative property in agriculture and the specific conditions of the highly skilled intellectual-creative activity of the intelligentsia and the special skills of the craftsmen and tradesmen, for higher performances for the benefit of socialist society and of every individual. In this way any given particular conditions in the social situation and development and the social differences, or differentiations, in living conditions and in attitudes can be used as a productive factor, and the special contribution of the social classes and strata to scientific-technical progress and the further development of the socialist way of life can be boosted.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin. 1976, p 53.

2. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 11. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the 11th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 41 ff.
3. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 53.
4. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke" (Works), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 21.
5. Kurt Hager, "Philosophie und Politik" (Philosophy and Politics), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 7.
6. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes! 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 15.

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ADVANCES IN PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM REVIEWED

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[Article by Dr Werner Hering, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Health Department, SED CC: "Our Socialist Health System--Achievements and Demands"]

[Text] The eighth and ninth congress decisions form the foundation for the performance trends and chief developmental directions of the GDR health system. They are an element of the SED social policy. A program for the development of medical care is consistently being brought to realization through stages. What demands are made for further improving the quality and effectiveness of medical work on management and planning and on the training of associates in public health, on medical research and political-ideological work?

The GDR health system went through a particularly successful stage of development in the 1970's. Through the eighth party congress resolutions, the joint resolution by the Politburo, the Council of Ministers and the FDGB Federal Executive Board of 1973 on further measures for implementing the socialist program in the field of public health, and the ninth party congress resolutions, the main trends were set down for setting up, step by step, a public health system appropriate to the developed socialist society. We have made good headway with it. Patients have justified confidence in the technical skill of the physicians and nurses. Most citizens regard the society-sponsored extensive protection of their health as an essential achievement of our socialist order.

Through the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions it was possible to provide a better quality of health care development in many respects. At present, approximately 460,000 officials take care of the health and social welfare of the GDR citizens. The number of physicians has risen by almost 6,000 since 1970 to 33,000. That makes the GDR stand out in



international comparisons. Since 1971, as many as 8,000 new medical and dental positions have been created, more than 100,000 nursery spots, and approximately 30,000 spots in leisure-time and health care centers. As many as 280,000 children up to the age of three are lovingly taken care of today in day nurseries, and more than 110,000 senior citizens spend their old age, socially secure and safe, in leisure-time and health care centers. New hospitals have been taken into operation in Riesa, Schwedt, Weiswasser, Halle-Kroellwitz, Neubrandenburg and Suhl. In some older facilities we succeeded in significantly improving the care and nursing conditions for the patients, completing the medical-technical equipment, and further easing the working and living conditions for the physicians and nurses.

As to the substantive development of the health system, the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions focus on giving, on a priority basis, all citizens better access to the medical services required for satisfying men's most important and most frequent needs for medical care. Mainly, the citizens are meant to take advantage, without any difficulties, of the services of out-patient and stationary basic care, which amount to roughly 90 percent of all transactions between the citizens and the health system. Thus our health policy is responsive to the general concern of our party's social policy to tackle, and gradually solve, the everyday issues which the vast majority of the workers class and the working people feel are especially urgent.<sup>1</sup> To solve this strategic health policy task, a graduated program for improving medical care was initiated.

#### On the Development of Out-patient Facilities

The first stage in this program provided for developing out-patient service into an efficient area of public health and for ensuring high-grade service especially for care in general medicine and pediatrics. Today, 18,000 physicians work in out-patient facilities--a good 5,000 more than in 1970 and, on the whole, more than half of all physicians. With 560 polyclinics, 980 out-patient facilities, 1,650 state-sponsored medical practices, and 2,250 physicians and dentists licensed to work on their own, the GDR has a relatively fine network of out-patient health facilities. While in 1970, an average citizen would resort to out-patient medical or dental help seven times, today he does so 11 times annually. That amounts to 180 million transactions with the socialist health system annually in out-patient treatment alone. In turning out-patient treatment into an efficient functional area, an important health policy objective was achieved. As a result, in many places reservation and waiting periods could be reduced, and it has become easier for a citizen today to find a doctor in whom he has confidence.

Good dental care is an important issue. Since 1978 there has been a noticeable effect of the measures initiated directly after the eighth party congress for improving the training capacities for stomatologists, and also of the help provided by the Soviet Union and other

fraternal countries in dental training. For the first time since late in 1977, the number of dentists rose by 800. This development is going to continue more vigorously in years ahead, so that we will be able to do away with the often still too long waiting periods for dental treatment and repair.

With all this we do not ignore that there are still unresolved problems and difficulties. We still have not enough specialists in general medicine and pediatrics. Medical occupations in some large cities and industrial areas, for instance in such important working class centers as Halle, Merseburg, Bitterfeld, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Senftenberg, call for special attention. Especially there, where great economic achievements are performed, the highest level of medical care must be guaranteed. For that we need a full cooperation from the graduates of medical studies. The medical and dental positions required have to be created, and the public state organs have to make housing available. After the 11th Central Committee plenum the party organs once more dealt with these matters thoroughly and, together with the public health ministry, set down measures to achieve, in preparation of the 10th party congress, further noticeable improvements for the citizen and provide permanent solutions. That calls for still more extensive support by bezirk and kreis headquarters, more purposeful political-ideological work, and more rigid management by the competent state organs.

We must also do away with any routine treatments and lack of attention to patients so that we will be able to speak of a socialist doctor-patient relationship everywhere. To that end, a good amount of ideological work has still to be done in quite a number of places.

When new large residential areas were being built, we did not always manage to build polyclinics and out-patient clinics simultaneously. But it is part of a functional residential area "that the citizens' medical care also is assured."<sup>2</sup> Individual medical out-patient facilities set up in apartments are no substitute for polyclinics and out-patient clinics. Nor is that economically justifiable.

#### Development of First Aid

This form of rapid professional medical care in cases of accidents, life-endangering conditions and serious acute illnesses is currently in effect in 63 kreises--all big cities included--for a total of 7.5 million citizens. Whereas in 1970, circa 50,000 persons seriously ill or hurt in accidents were helped this way, in 1979 more than 160,000 received such often life-saving aid. Through the development of emergency and intensive care units in hospitals a closed rescue chain evolves ranging from the place where the emergency occurred all the way to highly specialized in-house care. Not last, we thereby reduced the number of those who die in accidents each year by more than 1,000. In the years ahead this important form of medical aid is to be made available to all citizens.

## Improved Efficiency for Our Hospitals

Due to the successful development of out-patient treatment, the ninth party congress was able to focus on developing in-house and out-patient care together and pay more attention to hospitals in this connection. This introduced a second phase in implementing the graduated program.

Up to 1975, out-patient service had been developed partly at the expense of hospital development. Today it has become possible to carry on the development of these two great areas of medical care at a much more balanced ratio. That also is urgently necessary because the enormous increase in knowledge on the part of medical science through the last 20 years takes effect first and foremost in the hospitals. Possibilities in surgery and in successfully performing ever more complicated surgery even on babies and older people have broadened significantly. While up to a few years ago in cases of accidents and bone fractures the bed and the cast amounted to the most important therapy, today more than 20,000 expensive operations based on new technology are performed each year providing the patients with a more rapid and functionally better healing process, even though the techniques and the nursing care are more expensive. In 1979, there were 60,000 patients more than in 1970 who received highly skilled medical care in the special departments of intensive therapy, orthopedics and urology alone. Whereas in 1970, for instance, 750 pacemakers were implanted, in 1979, the number had already risen to 5,100--and 85 percent of them came out of our own production. Due to that, the GDR now occupies one of the leading positions in Europe. Complicated heart surgery with the heart-lung machine increased from 200 to 800 cases annually. Since last year the GDR has been among the countries where even the most complicated operations can be performed in this field. Artificial kidney operations went up from 10,000 in 1970 to 86,000 in 1979. More than 4,000 prostheses were implanted in 1979.

The broad introduction of new and, at the same time, most of the time extremely labor-intensive diagnostic and therapeutic methods, and the greater possibilities for taking care of acutely ill and older patients have significantly increased the physical and psychological stress on physicians and nurses in the hospital. These qualitatively novel demands that are going hand in hand with an enormous increase in operational efforts cannot be coped with, despite considerably more intensive work, by physicians and nurses remaining unchanged in number. For that reason, especially since 1976 great efforts have been made to improve the medical personnel in specialized surgical departments and recruit more nurses for in-hospital care. The addition of physicians in the hospitals has been noticeable. It however still does not ensure enough medical personnel everywhere. In the 1980's also circa half of the new doctors will be employed in the hospitals. Altogether the point is, through improved political-ideological work by the party and FDJ organizations, mainly on the college level, to bring it about that the young medical intelligentsia becomes willing, without reservation, to work wherever it is most necessary for our society.

To insure high-level nursing care, it is extremely important to get more nurses. That applies mainly to the big cities, including the capital Berlin. Considering how indispensable it is for uninterrupted medical care that by far the largest proportion of medium-level medical personnel do shift work --75 percent right now is working on shifts, 50 percent in the three-shift system--, it becomes clear what complicated tasks the health system faces here. Constant care for favorable working and living conditions, creating a good work climate and deepening socialist attitudes and convictions in professional ethics belong among the priority tasks of the political-ideological work of the party and trade union organizations and the state managers in hospitals and clinics.

Further improving our hospitals' efficiency requires systematically carrying on the program issued by the ninth party congress on the reconstruction and new construction of efficient health facilities by means of a high economic performance improvement and the energy of the working people even under the changed economic conditions of the 1980's. Besides the Charite, the largest investment project of the health system in the history of the GDR, 12 other hospitals are under construction. When they are completed, approximately 150,000 patients can be treated more expertly each year, over 60,000 more operations can be performed, and we will get circa 3 million more X-rays and 14 million additional laboratory analyses.

The burdens placed on the GDR economy in the 1980's make it necessary to elaborate a still stricter rank and sequence for the use of financial and material funds in the investments for solving the most urgent health policy objectives, in that funds are used as efficiently, effectively for the public and economically as possible. Along with completing the hospitals under construction, systematic investment and maintenance funds are mainly to be used for the maintenance and reconstruction of existing hospitals and foster-homes.

#### Medical Care in the Enterprise

The industrial health system reflects most emphatically the social character of our health protection system. A considerable performance level has been reached in this area. There are, after all, more than 3,000 physicians and dentists who are responsible for the health of the workers and other working people in the enterprises directly. Two thirds of all people employed--5.5 million working people--get extensive medical and labor-medical care through the industrial health system. In recent years, therefore, the emphasis was placed on extending industrial health care not just quantitatively, but qualitatively as well. This orientation is meant to improve further the medical care for the production workers in the large-scale enterprises. At the same time the eighth and ninth party congresses have ordered strengthening the influence of medicine on making working and living conditions healthier. That some production workers are still working under conditions harmful to health is a fact. And also the mechanization and chemical processes of agriculture entail new requirements in labor medicine.

Making working and living conditions healthier is of course not exclusively the responsibility of medicine. It also has to do with a targeted influence to be brought to bear on the matter of reporting sick, which causes considerable losses in social labor capacity. The health system, no doubt, plays a special role in this; the judgment on being able to work calls for high diagnostic and therapeutical skills. Every physician has to be aware that he, by being authorized to make out sick leave slips and prescriptions, has a key to the people's treasury in his pocket. What is most important in reducing sick-leave status is and remains that all those that are responsible here, the enterprise managements, the foremen and brigade chiefs, the trade union organizations and the health system, assume their responsibilities and closely cooperate at once and that the political-ideological clarification process is purposefully being advanced regarding these matters by the party and trade union collectives. If there is a constant draft in some part of the plant, no manager should be surprised many people report sick. Flue shots do not help then. Not even after the efforts on behalf of developing an effective vaccine against flue virus by Dresden's Saxon Serum Plant have been successful.

#### Extensive Mother and Child Care

From the outset, the socialist society has given special attention to the health protection of mother and child. That, not last, follows from the great objective of our society to insure a healthy development for every young person and make possible a harmonious development of his physical and mental capacities. The special health protection for women on a job or during their pregnancy, delivery or childbed period helps create the kind of conditions for women to be able actually to assume increasingly more their equal position in practical life. Our performance level in pregnancy, maternity and child care is something we can be proud of. With an infant mortality rate of 13.1 per 1,000 live births and a maternal mortality rate of 1.6 per 10,000 births, our republic occupies a noteworthy rank internationally.

The gratifying birth increase of recent years makes higher demands on our health system. That pertains to our having to expand our capacities in midwifery and the modernization or reconstruction of pregnancy and maternity counseling centers. There is a consistent effort at further raising the number of beds for deliveries, so that all mothers giving birth can stay at least 7 days in a clinic. In the years ahead, more expert pregnancy and maternity counseling and a pediatric care for the newborn in line with modern developments must of course constantly be given our special attention.

Although during the current five-year plan and through additional initiatives by the kreises, more than 50,000 day nursery spots are being newly created--Potsdam Bezirk has set an example here--, the number of infants to be cared for is rising faster at present than the new extra nursery spots. In international comparisons, we come out with the



highest rate of infant care, in placing circa 600 of the 1,000 infants entitled to it in day nurseries, infants, that is, up to the age of three. In spite of that, many thousand applications for day nursery spots can at this time not yet be passed. It shows how urgent it is systematically to expand further the network of day nurseries and to make optimum use of them.

Also in the development of placing physically or psychologically retarded in day nurseries and homes our society has evidently made fast progress in recent years.

#### Increasing Importance for Medical Training and Research

While in the last 35 years an efficient health system has been generated in our republic, still more training and medical research will determine the further improvement of the quality and effectiveness of medical work in the future. That places a high demand on the knowledge and skill, and thus on the training and advanced training, of the scientists and physicians. The full use of all intellectual and material potentials increasingly more becomes the crucial factor for performance improvements in medical work on the whole in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. In conformity with the demands of the 11th and 12th Central Committee plena, these factors will become more and more important in the 1980's. Even while on the threshold into the 1980's, the Politburo took a position on basic natural science and technical research and medical research and adopted basic resolutions on the development of the university system.<sup>3</sup>

In recent years, the medical scientists in our republic accomplished internationally recognized research achievements at a high theoretical level and of great practical use to health protection. That included procedures for extending blood bank storage periods and producing substitute skin tissue for covering large wounds, immunological diagnostic methods and an automated microscopic image analysis for cancer probes, the investigation of cellular mechanism in memory formation, the development of modern dialysis processes, and the first successful liver and island cell transplants and other matters. These outstanding achievements demonstrate it is necessary and possible to develop medical research in conformity with our social prerequisites as well as with regard to our country's medical traditions.

In confrontation with imperialism, it is a challenge of great political importance for all medical scientists in our country further to advance the fine international reputation of our health system in the 1980's through top performances in the science, in the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illnesses and in their etiology and generation. The tasks passed on in the Politburo resolution on matters of medical research concentrate on areas that would make us expect pioneering results for medical research and achievements of international rank, with a growth of insights that is of great social interest. It is understood that

that in medical research too, the GDR relies on close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. For moving in those directions we need a fresh spirit in research, the right cadres, a bold promotion of the rising generation, and implacable comparisons with world standards, and that presupposes a militant atmosphere in all party organizations and medical science institutions.

Determining the endogenous (internal) causes of cardiac infarction, high blood pressure, cancer, flu, psychological and other illnesses is the focal point in medical research today. Access to that is most readily found by combining medical research with basic biological research and through the cooperation between clinical and theoretical-experimental collectives of scientists. Medical research ought to pay greater attention to the increasing frequency of chronic diseases. Also in medicine it is necessary to examine, without reservation, the originality of a science requirement for each project, so that we will not merely "run after" any international trends. Stricter criteria obviously have to be applied to the defense of research projects and research results. The recently formed medical science council is especially responsible for that.

High medical research requirements make high demands on industry but also have, more than ever, direct effects on intelligence-intensive production. That calls for still closer connections between medical research and the industrial branches and research centers that are important to medicine, particularly those in electrical engineering and electronics, machine building, chemistry, optics, the light industry and the microbiological and pharmaceutical industries, so that top-achievements are obtained in research and production. The automated measuring microscope Parmaquant, which is of crucial importance to cancer diagnostics, was developed through the cooperation between medical scientists in Rostock and Carl Zeiss Jena combine collectives and is an outstanding example for how rapidly and successfully a completely new idea can be brought to realization through a concentrated use of cadres and means and in close cooperation with industry while rigorously utilizing the advantages of our own social order. Such developments can also be beneficial for industry and export.

#### Creativity and Great Dedication by the Physicians and Nurses

The physicians, dentists, nurses and other associates in public health are able and willing to dedicate all their strength to solving the demanding tasks which, in conformity with party resolutions, confront our health system. That is confirmed by the numerous initiatives and fine results of socialist competition.

Every citizen appreciates a sound, reliable and helpful medical consultation or dental treatment. Many factors, no doubt, affect the quality and effectiveness of medical care. Decisive is the knowledge and skill, the

professional ethics and the dedication of the physicians and dentists, the nurses and all other associates in public health. It will depend on the maturity of a medical personality, his education and political attitude, his strength of radiation as a human being, his cultural level and the example he sets as a citizen, what effects he will have on his patients and in the residential area, and how much confidence a patient and citizen will place in him. That makes our party's steady political-ideological work with the medical intelligentsia all the more responsible a task. It vitally helps inspiring every physician and nurse for providing the highest grade of medical work and for gaining as much knowledge as possible, to be able to give the citizens access to the achievements of modern medicine and helps making the physicians and nurses feel an all-inclusive sense of responsibility to the development of our socialist public health system, in that a comradely productive cooperation between work collectives and institutions develops ever more strongly—or, in short, that all associates in the socialist health system help implement creatively and with a high sense of dedication our party and state policy, especially in their own professional field. There must nowhere be a sterile atmosphere in public health except in the operating room! Medical activity has never been unideological or apolitical in history; but not until socialism do the humanistic concerns of medicine and professional medical ethics fully coincide with the society's interests and the policy of the state.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Everything for the Good of the People, for Socialism and Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16/17 October 1976, p 3.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 68.
3. Comrade Inge Lange, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the 12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, pp 41-42, 53-56.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY REVIEWED

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[Article by Prof Dr Gerhard Schulze, jurist, first dean (prorektor), GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "On the Humanistic Essence of Socialist Democracy." A translation of an earlier EINHEIT article on the same subject by Prof Otto Reinhold, containing further references to related information, is published under the heading, "Socialist Versus Bourgeois Democracy Analyzed," in JPRS 73253, 18 Apr 79, No 1670 of this series, pp 24-33]

[Text] Led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the working people in our republic direct and plan the affairs of state in the freedom of their own self-determination. The article demonstrates that the deeply humanistic essence of socialist democracy expresses itself in various ways and that democratic codetermination effectively fosters personality development. The proven forms of democratic participation must be further molded and perfected, and all citizens must actively be drawn into the solution of the social tasks.

Socialist democracy with its deeply humanistic essence is one of the most important achievements in the construction of the new, socialist society led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. All experiences of the victorious workers class in the socialist countries confirm the Leninist doctrine that "vital creative socialism is the work of the popular masses themselves."

In free self-determination and equality the working people in our country consciously shape their public life on the basis of the objective inevitabilities of social development. The socialist social order causes and promotes the free development of the working people's essential capacities in the process of work and their public activities--which expresses

the humanistic essence of socialist democracy. Not until socialism were the conditions created for actually allowing the working people, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, to manage and plan their affairs of state through their own free decision-making. Socialism provided the workers class and its alliance partners with true sovereign self-determination both for the people and the individual. The workers class in power made possible the development of real, socialist democracy, the comradely and creative cooperation of all working classes and strata for shaping the new society that is adequate to man and insures that the people owns what the people's hands create.

Our experiences with the successful course behind us in the development and consolidation of the socialist state demonstrate to us that it is not from one day to the next but throughout a permanent process of democratic participation that the working people acquire the abilities to structure public relations in conformity with objective requirements on behalf and for the benefit of the people. Precisely through the process of democratic participation in the management and planning of society the working people have been and are being enabled to meet the constantly new and complicated developmental requirements. Vital socialist democracy--as demonstrated daily by our political practice--decisively affects the personality development of the individual, the molding and continued shaping of his modes of thought and conduct. Democratic participation elevates and reinforces political awareness, fosters the shaping of a firm class standpoint, and deepens the knowledge of the inevitabilities of our era and of the course, directed by the party, toward further social progress. That also expresses socialist democracy as real humanism.

Inseparable from that is the fact that the humanistic essence of socialist democracy, its superiority over any other form of bourgeois democracy, results from that the socialist state does not only proclaim the citizens' freedoms and rights but socialist society provides its citizens with real possibilities and conditions for making actual use of these rights and freedoms.

We rightly speak of the humanistic essence of socialist democracy also because the citizens' democratic participation in all fundamental decisions--like the laws, law regulations and resolutions--enables them in the first place consciously to fashion and control their process of public life. Our country's working people themselves are the ones who, for instance, have coauthored our party program and their state laws in the truest sense of the word. Only recall, for example, the breadth and intensity of the popular debate on the party program draft for the Ninth SED Congress, which charted the course and objective of our social development over an extended time period. The Central Committee received a total of 1,168,000 letters, position papers and recommendations from citizens, work collectives, SED members and candidates, party collectives and members of other parties. It is the custom in our socialist society to submit for public debate the drafts of basic laws to the population



before they are ratified by the People's Chamber. Millions of working people have taken part in the popular debates on such draft laws--which was made a principle of the Constitution in its article 65 section 3--and thereby helped improve their quality. The humanistic essence of our socialist democracy is thus attested to not only by the content of our laws but likewise by the following facts: some 750,000 citizens debated the draft of the family code and submitted 23,737 suggestions; in 60,000 meetings, 1,500,000 citizens took part in the discussion of the law on the local people's representations, submitting 4,300 amendment proposals for that draft law; and 5,400,000 citizens discussed the draft for the youth law and made 4,821 proposals on amending that draft law; equally pronounced was the democratic participation by all segments of the population in the discussion of other fundamental draft laws, as the civil code and labor law.

Such facts also show how our socialist society implements this deeply humanistic principle: all political power is exercised by the working people and serves their well-being, the safeguarding of peace, and the protection of human dignity. Firm foundations have been laid for this decisive constitutional principle: the humanistic essence of socialist democracy is predicated on the political rule by the workers class and its being led by the Marxist-Leninist party, on the public ownership in the means of production and thus surmounting the exploitation of man by man and abolishing class antagonism. Only by having all working classes and strata rally around it in alliance, the workers class, led by its vanguard, was able to lead the socialist revolution to victory, consolidate the socialist workers and farmers state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of the entire GDR people, and make its political power prevail on a broad democratic base through which it invests our socialist order with its humane traits and combative qualities.

All our experiences confirm this: the working people's determined leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party not only proves the decisive condition for the transition to our new, humane order of socialism. It also is the indispensable prerequisite for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thus for creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

#### Spread and Perfection of Socialist Democracy

Coping with the demanding tasks facing our country in the 1980's, in the further shaping of our developed socialist society, means still more effectively bringing to bear on it all the advantages and impulses of socialism. That applies particularly to further perfecting our socialist democracy. After all, the years behind us in our development have provided us with the persuasive evidence that the people's sovereign self-determination has become a powerful impulse for our successful advances. For that important social progress that was achieved through the implementation of the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions was due to the

strong public activities of the workers class and all working people. Their sense of responsibility, expert involvement, experiences and creative, dedicated efforts were decisive in having our socialist society, as Comrade Erich Honecker stressed at the 12th Central Committee plenum, "attain a considerable degree of maturity, internal stability and, at once, effectiveness in external respects."<sup>2</sup>

To continue resolutely the party policy which serves the good of the people, to insure, and step by step further extend, the material and intellectual-cultural standard of living achieved, under the changed external, principally the foreign economy, conditions far more complicated problems have to be solved than in the 1970's. To meet them adequately and accelerate scientific-technical progress, whereby we can cope with a decisive improvement of our economic efficiency, is a challenge to the deliberate and systematically organized cooperation among all working people--to the effectiveness of socialist democracy. Strengthening the socialist state and further perfecting socialist democracy are matters that condition each other. The socialist state, after all, is the chief instrument the working people, led by the workers class, have in shaping the new society, and "the further spread and perfecting of socialist democracy," as the party program puts it, "is the main direction in which socialist state power develops."<sup>3</sup>

Life has produced many different forms, well tested in practice, for the citizens' democratic participation in public affairs. More effective use of them still has to be made so that the citizens can take part still more extensively in making expert decisions on the concrete issues of economic, social and intellectual-cultural life in the enterprises and cooperatives, the towns and communities, the councils and commissions of the people's representations and various other social organizations. Our experiences have taught us, after all, that the working people are all the sooner ready to participate democratically with all their strength, responsibly and with rich initiatives, the more strongly they sense that their participation is needed, their counsel, their recommendations and their critical suggestions as well, and their committed dedication to implementing them becomes a benefit for society and the individual. That is conspicuously attested to by the results of our competition, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities--Join In!" Millions of citizens are engaged here in manifold creative activities which help fulfill the economic plan, mobilize and expand the activities in the citizens' cooperative efforts for all classes, strata and age-groups, and shape the environment in accordance with their interests. For many citizens the participation in this National Front competition--which turned into a genuine people's initiative--was the first step toward deliberately participating in public life. These and all other proven forms of democratic involvement must be fully used toward actively including, more and more, all citizens in finding solutions for the tasks in all domains of public life.

In this connection also it is of great importance that the matters in which the citizens address themselves at their state organs are processed attentively and unbureaucratically. While our state power is consolidated and our socialist democracy is made more perfect, "the greatest value should be placed on involving the citizens, on attentively dealing with their suggestions and critical advice," Comrade Erich Honecker has demanded. "Everyone should sense we highly appreciate his responsible participation in solving our common public tasks and take seriously any matter in which he addresses himself with trust at the organs of state."<sup>4</sup>

#### The People's Representations--Foundation of Our State Power

The democratically elected people's representations and the work they do for the good of the citizens are a visible reflection of the high level of implementation of our socialist democracy. In contrast to the bourgeois system of representation, the people's representations in our socialist state reflect the social structure of socialist society. In them are drawn together the best forces of the workers class and of the other working people allied with it. The outcome of democratic elections, they enjoy the people's trust and are accountable to the citizens.

In our socialist society, the people's representations are the most comprehensive power organs of the state in which and through which the workers class and the other working people allied with it exercise their political power. From the People's Chamber to the bezirk and kreis assemblies, the city-kreis assemblies and city-district assemblies, all the way down to the community representations, they form the basis of the uniform system of state power in the GDR and are, at once, the most complete embodiment of its democratic character. The people's representations manifest the will of the working people. Their more than 200,000 members are a great political force. On 20 May 1979, people's representations were elected in the kreises, towns and communities "which are not only greater in number, but also of a new quality in their composition."<sup>5</sup> They have a greater proportion of workers of material production, many youths and women among them. The deputies are distinguished by their fine education, sound political and technical knowledge, great expertise and rich life experience.

In years past, the activity of the people's representations has visibly gained in quality. They deal with all fundamental problems in their territories, increasingly better learn to combine properly the territorial needs with overall social requirements, resolutely concentrate on the problems in the implementation of their territorial plans, and are developing direct permanent contacts with the industrial work collectives and the cooperatives and with the citizens in the residential areas. In spite of that it is necessary to tap still many other reserves in order to make still more effective the deputies' work, especially of those who are engaged in material production. That includes having the

councils create all prerequisites and working conditions that will make it easier for the deputies to exercise their volunteer activities for the good of their voters and in the overall state interest. It is also shown that the active stand taken by the people's representatives in their enterprises and the respect for and support of their activity by the work collectives and enterprise managements are increasingly turning into an essential factor of successful deputy activity.

Along with the deputies there are tens of thousands of citizens in the GDR who engage in various forms of volunteer work in the state apparatus. In more than 30 fields of activity in the state apparatus, in the central and local organs, volunteer collectives are working in the form of commissions, committees, councils and activists groups. Volunteer associates, helpers and delegates are engaged in 20 other fields of activity. This active participation by citizens virtually extends to all domains in state management and planning and is brought to bear on every phase in the state management process.

Millions of working people are taking part in government! Their work crucially helps fashion the humanistic essence of socialist democracy: Our republic has 204,910 citizens who are deputies of the People's Chamber and the local people's representations; circa 500,000 citizens are working on the standing commissions and activists groups of the people's representations; 335,000 citizens are working on the 17,000 National Front commissions; 95,550 working people are members of the 9,762 centralized continual production consultations of their enterprises; 300,000 citizens are on the retail trade organization and restaurant advisory councils and on the sales outlet commissions; 358,000 workers, master workmen, engineers and scientists are working in work and research communities; 225,623 working people are in conflicts commissions; 50,173 citizens are involved in jurisdiction; 53,448 citizens are members of our arbitration commissions; 223,929 working people assist in the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate and are working in circa 6,500 inspectorate commissions; and 680,765 citizens, in 5,894 parents' advisory councils and in 104,465 groups of teachers' aides, aid in the education and training of our young people at our schools.

These impressive facts per se demonstrate the humanistic essence of our socialist democracy, even if they do not by themselves reflect the substance and effectiveness of the work or the degree of maturity in democratic participation. Nor are they in any way complete. Millions of citizens also affect the fashioning of public life through their functions in trade unions, in social welfare and public health, in the domains of culture and sports, in insuring order and security and many other places. Thousands of citizens are committed to other bodies and social organizations. The involvement of the vast majority of the working people in state and economic management and their confident cooperation regardless of world-outlook, religion or party membership--this proves to be one of the decisive advantages of socialist democracy, an important pledge to that the people own what the people's hands create. Socialist democracy--that is truly government by the people, exercised by the people and its elected organs.

In exercising political power and consciously using all domains of public life, the socialist society practically engages in politics—directly affects the personality development of those who are democratically engaged like that. Taking part in various decision-making, after all, calls for great political knowledge, solid technical skill, and high personal commitment—regardless of which level or which organization. In the process of democratic engagement all this is fostered to a certain degree, the individual gains new knowledge and deepens his insights into overall social interconnections and inevitabilities, broadens his understanding of the party's overall strategy and tactics, and enhances his personal conviction of the correctness of our course. This revolutionary practice forms personality to a high extent, furthers independent, initiative-rich activities, and further develops the awareness that the responsibility one bears is for the whole.

Especially this democratic participation often presents an individual with an entirely new testing ground and expects prudent decisions from him in thus far unfamiliar areas (only consider the many teachers' aides and parents' advisory council members elected for such functions for the first time, who might even be assuming such an executive function for the first time, or consider the arbitrations commissions, the traffic safety activists groups, advisory councils of various kinds, where citizens frequently take their first steps in democratic participation in elected functions).

So activities are likely to account for how democratic participation develops the talents, inclinations, interests and abilities of an individual. Great importance for personality development does, however, attach to democratic participation. It enriches the individual's store of experiences, improves his judgment, develops his sense of responsibility and also crucially affects his conduct at work and at leisure. Democratic participation also enriches the individual's public relations, his relations with society. Often it is only through this activity that an individual, in pursuit of common tasks, makes close contact with citizens differing in skills, world-outlook, religion and party membership, and how many may there be who in an election function for the first time gain tasks the fulfillment of which they have to control, and win for the first time used to dispute or negotiating or an exchange of experiences by themselves.

Democratic participation is neither a technology nor an end in itself. It is a means and comes together with it in, aimed at bringing the various forces and impulses of socialism still more comprehensively to bear, at combining all constructive forces which, public relations and the political and talents of people socially develop, in the new socialist society with substance and culture.



# FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "All-Russian Central Executive Committee Meeting," "Werke" (Works), Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 283.
2. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes, 12. Tagung der ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! All for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 9.
3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 41.
4. Erich Honecker, "Our Struggle for Full Employment, the People's Prosperity and Stability Bears Rich Fruit," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 FEBRUARY 1978, p 3.
5. Erich Honecker, "Die nächsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchföhrung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 72.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'DIALECTIC' OF SOCIAL, PERSONAL FREEDOM IN SOCIALISM EXPLAINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 101, 7 Jul 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Rejects Criticism of Individual Freedom in Socialism." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1980) has rejected Western criticism of restricted individual freedom in socialism. Such attacks bore "features of the historical defensive" and aimed at placing in doubt "the new quality of social and individual freedom in socialism." The "social freedom" gained by socialism was "prerequisite, basis and thus the historic framework, as it were, for the development of individual freedom." The possibilities for further shaping individual freedom in socialism depended on the degree attained in the collective control by the working people over their natural and social life processes. Consequently, individual freedom in socialism was "nothing definitive, nothing attained for once and for all." It was always in a state of change and developed with the growth of the productive forces and with the perfection of the people's production relations and intellectual culture. From that one should have to proceed in wishing to "judge today's developmental status and the current developmental requirements for social and personal freedom correctly." Through the shaping of the developed socialist society, the conditions would expand for the free development of individuality.

Marxist Philosopher's Placation

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 15 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 pp 771-779

[Article by Prof Dr Robert Steininger, program director, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Freedom and Individuality." Translations of articles on related topics as indicated are published in the following JPRS issues of 1980 series: 10

the importance of 'subjective rights,' personal freedom--74723, 6 Dec 79, No 1768, pp 28-38; concept, theory of human rights, personal freedom--89919, 7 Apr 78, No 1520, pp 29-47; 70196, 21 Nov 77, No 1476, pp 34-45; 70901, 19 Oct 77, No 1463, pp 72-80 (followed by interview on problems of personal freedom, pp 81-85); and 69532, 1 Aug 77, No 1426, pp 36-56; on human rights, class rights--70701, 28 Feb 78, No 1507, pp 73-79 and 68187, 9 Nov 76, No 1317, pp 17-27; and on development of personal freedom--69293, 22 Jun 77, No 1404, pp 105-118 and 68228, 17 Nov 76, No 1320, pp 19-33)

[Text] Freedom is man's control over nature, society and himself--a process combining natural law, the laws of social development, scientific understanding and conscious action. Explaining this, while taking issue with the bourgeois ideology of freedom, the article explores the new quality of social and individual freedom in socialism and the dialectical interactions between social and individual development.

The great and historically motivating idea of human freedom imbues our party's program tasks and the struggle for their implementation. That idea, going far back in human history and pervading history as soon as it becomes the history of class struggle, has received scientific form in the world-outlook of the workers class. The founding fathers of Marxism-Leninism, in their materialist-dialectical concept of society and man, established the realization that the development of individual freedom is a decisive element of social freedom in socialism, and that here the conditions, prerequisites and impulses for the unrestrained development of the individual are formed and come into their own.

A natural concomitant of the matter is that especially with regard to this point socialist and bourgeois ideology collide with each other most vehemently and the conflict over theoretical, ideological and political issues connecting with it is visibly intensifying. Since socialism assumed its real shape in the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, bourgeois ideology, after all, no longer has had to deal merely with the Marxist-Leninist theory of man and his freedom, but also with their real existence, their struggle in our era and their present-day activities. The real existence and historic work of men in socialist society clearly and convincingly reveal the main goal of socialist social development--to raise, on the basis of a high speed in socialist production development, the people's material and cultural standard of living, whereby to create increasingly better conditions for developing the individuality of each, his creativity, initiative, knowledge and skills.

## Historically on the Defensive

Bourgeois ideological attacks on real socialism, especially on its historically new, enormous potentials for the development of individual freedom, bear the features of the historic defensive into which imperialism has long been forced. They are aimed at placing in doubt the new quality of social and individual freedom in socialism as much as its decisive foundation and conditions--the political power of the workers class in alliance with the other working people and the public ownership in the means of production. The idea and reality of individual freedom in socialism are equally intolerable to the bourgeois ideology. They irrevocably refute the basic concept in the bourgeois ideology on freedom, inseparably connected with the bourgeois idea of society and of man, grounding individual freedom in the private ownership in the means of production. Be they program documents or social conceptions of rightist-conservative or social-reformist forces, or conceptions based on existentialist, positivistic or religious views--the conceptions of freedom proclaimed in them are always determined by the idea that the one-sided and limited freedom of capitalist commodity production ultimately determines the freedom of the human individual. What is revealed there is the class character of all bourgeois theory on freedom.

In the FRG, for example, the CDU's basic program, passed at the 26th party conference in Ludwigshafen, declares the so-called social market economy a social premise anchored in the "idea of responsible freedom as part of the Christian image of man" (figure 65 of the program).<sup>1</sup> The CDU program in the FRG likewise proceeds from that idea. It declares a policy that would preserve and consolidate the so-called social market economy to insure "that an individual can exploit the new and great possibilities for freedom and development resulting from the change of society and the changes in social structures."<sup>2</sup>

The orientation framework '85, adopted at the SPD Congress in Mannheim in 1975, does say: "Freedom is however social reality, and not merely an illusion and privilege for a few, only when all men have the actual (economic, political, social, cultural) possibility for free development." But with it, the private economic disposition over the means of production and market competition, i.e. the capitalist economy, are declared indispensable. They are merely thought to be in need of supplementary government management measures.<sup>3</sup>

Bourgeois theories on freedom, generated in the struggle by the rising bourgeoisie against feudalism, today are in many regards reactionary, whatever they may look like. First, they are aimed at concealing the nature of imperialism (i.e. as much as possible hide the fact that the economic and political power of the monopolies, "which are everywhere pressing for domination and not for freedom," as Lenin put it, is "the same all the way through."<sup>4</sup> Second, bourgeois freedom theories play an important role in the intellectual manipulation of the working people in

The capitalist classifies. They aim at whitewashing the ever more glaring contradiction between the proclaimed bourgeois-democratic rights and freedom and social reality by maintaining and solidifying the illusion of the "free" and "active" citizen, to tie the working people down to state monopoly capitalism.<sup>5</sup> Third finally, this way they are trying to deplete the problems of genuine human emancipation in our era of their vital social substance.

All possibilities of philosophic idealism are mobilized to this end. Freedom is conceived as an absolute "value" valid forever, is detached from its social frame of reference and presented as an anthropological problem that relates mainly to individual human beings only. That precisely is the case when CDU representatives in the FRG announce, for instance, that freedom is "personally accountable freedom, individual accountability and responsibility in society," while it is emphasized at once that "the freedom of man is based on a reality that transcends the human world."<sup>6</sup> The logic in this conception lies in shifting the foundations of human freedom to the irrational, extraterrestrial domain, by which the question about the social foundations of freedom and the real possibilities any concrete society offers to individual freedom becomes pointless. Then freedom--turned thereby into a personal matter, a matter of "man created for freedom"--can consequently also be left to the sole responsibility of the individual "who must account for his freedom." The clear-text on this reads as follows, however: When man is unfree it is not because he lives under social conditions that prevent man from controlling the circumstances of his material and intellectual life but only because he does not meet his accountability to freedom, does not live up to it--so that it is up to the individual whether he is free or not. It is obvious who profits from this conception of freedom, inasmuch as it comes down to: that freedom, in "transcending the human world," can then not be the outcome of revolutionary struggle, for which reason such struggle becomes actually meaningless.

In contrast to bourgeois conceptions of freedom, the Marxist-Leninist definition of freedom proceeds from the thought that human action has its basis in the objective inevitabilities in the development of nature and society, and it connects this materialistic point of departure with the recognition of conscious activity by socialized man. That is an acknowledgment of human dignity and of the value of true individuality at once. For the core of this conception is the most vital question of what it means to be truly human--the question of man's relation with his natural and social environment, the question of the practical control man has over nature, society and himself. The Marxist-Leninist answer conceives of freedom as a process that combines natural law, the laws of social development, scientific understanding and conscious action. This unity--and only this unity--gives society and the individuals the real possibility for being able to control the objective conditions of the real life process and to have individuality come into its own. In this sense also it was that Marx and Engels opposed the idealistic conception that man



was free "through the negative capacity to avoid one thing or another." Rather, he is free "through his positive capacity of bringing his true individuality to bear."<sup>8</sup>

Free through the positive capacity of bringing true individuality to bear--that is, first and foremost, a social problem. The essential circumstances are conditions that determine the formation of those human characteristics which, as individual modes of thinking and conduct, as the wealth of his intellectual life, as the development of his talents and abilities, and as the development and application of his creative forces, constitute his individuality are to be found mainly in the material process of public life, that is, in any given mode of production and the social, political, ideological and cultural social relations conditioned by it. Through the process of material life, in the production and reproduction of public life based on the given production relations and of course also in the practical and intellectual activities in political, scientific and cultural life, the individual develops, forms the features and traits of his individuality, shapes his personality.

As long as social conditions exist that are based on the private ownership of the means of production, it is not the individuality of working man that is wasted, but only one aspect of this individuality--the useful labor capacity in it. That leads to the consequence that individuality is suppressed a million times, the gifts and talents of millions and millions of people remain undeveloped, the trend toward impoverishing and stunting individuality prevails over all public life, and enormous efforts are required to at least partly counteract that trend in the workers' class and among other working classes and strata.

How typical these problems are particularly at present is shown by the situation in capitalism. In connection with the deepening crisis in that society, the unfavorable developmental conditions for individuality are only being further exacerbated in the capitalist industrial countries through their massive unemployment. The official unemployment figures in these countries have risen from 6 to 17 million since 1970.

Of special significance to the developmental constraints on individuality are the problems brought about by scientific-technical progress under capitalist conditions. The modern achievements of science and technology show up there as "job killers," as hostile to whole occupational groups whose special knowledge and skills are invalidated, but mainly also in that they remain in the production process and whose exploitation is being intensified while their efficiency and health are diminishing rapidly. The catastrophic character of the social consequences of a differentiation structure or for capitalist conditions is even stronger if it is a matter of the essential prerequisites for the development of true individuality, for the stunting of individuality--also in the fields of education and general education. When millions of young people find there is no place for them in that society, that they are not needed and thus--without knowing what they try--take their lives as a result, at this age and without sufficient efforts to the detriment of all class!

It is not the ideas themselves that bourgeois ideologists play down the importance of these aspects of the material life process for the development and realizing of individuality but declare the formal bourgeois freedom rights the only place of human individuality development. The formal bourgeois freedom rights which in the light of the bourgeois ideologists show up as the end-all of all freedoms of personality do have their importance no doubt for the members of the workers class and for other working people. They can be used in the struggle for social progress and socialism for organizing the workers class and in developing the anti-monopolist struggle for liberating and expanding the working people's democratic rights.

But however important bourgeois freedom rights are for individual existence and for the struggle by progressive forces in that society, however necessary it is to defend them against any attempt at constricting them further by the monopoly bourgeoisie--the margin they leave for the actual control of man over nature, the social processes and himself, and thus over the massive development of individuality, is extremely narrow. The exploitation relations of capitalist society and freedom "are mutually exclusive. Freedom for the working people arises only with the end of exploitation, with socialism."<sup>9</sup>

#### Acquisition of Freedom in Society--A Gain of Individual Life

The freedom of the individual in socialism is a historic achievement. Its objective prerequisites lie in the political power of the workers class and its allies, in the public ownership in the means of production, the planned management of the social developmental processes and in the growing control over nature by means of a rapid development of the productive forces. It insures the freedom from exploitation--the key problem that has to be solved if one is to talk seriously of individual freedom, and not in the euphemistic sense in which bourgeois ideology talks about reality. It insures the freedom from the insecurity about subsistence resulting for millions from the capitalist mode of production. It insures a material standard of living that rises with the development of the productive forces and the productivity of social labor. It guarantees comprehensive education for all working people that includes the scientific world-outlook and the acquisition of technical knowledge and skills in conformity with personal inclinations and within the scope of public requirements. And it guarantees, if one summarizes it all, the individuals' participation, based on active, creative and expert activities, in the solution of social tasks. It is particularly this participation by the individual in the rule exercised by the associated producers, backed by expertise and borne in responsibility, which makes possible for and demands of the individual the development of his individuality all-around.

But that is not all: it is always making more strongly prevail whatever makes human existence more worthwhile and enriches it: working creatively, testing, and productively and constructively applying, one's capabilities and capabilities, enjoying the achievements of human culture.

contributing to its preservation and augmentation, finding satisfaction in one's own work and in working together with others, and living a life that is meaningful, rich and fulfilled. The revolutionary workers movement has always been struggling for a society that enables each member freely to develop and engage his personal capacities. That is why in the S&D Program the all-round development of the capabilities and talents of personality for the good of the individual and of all socialist society is called one of the noblest goals of the revolutionary workers movement.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of individual freedom and real socialism in practice refute the bourgeois notion that the problem of individuality is under all social conditions the problem of the individual who has to prevail against society in creating for himself, in view of the enslaving, anonymous forces of society, a domain of private interests and inclinations, a "freedom sphere" that is screened off from the concerns of society at large. This bourgeois conception reflects the intensifying antagonism between individual and society which has its roots in the private ownership in the means of production, the isolation of individuals and their opposition in the struggle of all against all. That idea of human individuality and of the freedom of the individual is as poor in substance as the concept of man on which it is based. It cannot answer the question what the real requirements for individuality development truly are because it starts from the proposition that the antagonism between the individual and society is inherent in human existence per se and cannot be broken. The definition of individual freedom, after all, is purely negative, entirely the position that was criticized by Marx and Engels, as freedom from something. While that indeed is one aspect of freedom, but when applied to the whole, its proper character gets debased. Freedom must at the same time also be defined as freedom for something.<sup>10</sup> Only that reveals the social leeway, the possibilities for actions, the space for movement and development in the activities in the subject of freedom, expressed in the freedom to act and be active in conformity with the development of society and of the individual.

The freedom to act expresses itself in socialist society in the conscious participation by millions of citizens in the democratic exercise of power, in the purposeful struggle for plan fulfillment, which makes high demands on the individual and the collectives alike, and in the competition and innovator movement. It expresses itself in the manifold relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid, developed in the work and study collectives, the residential areas, the leisure-time and recreational facilities and so forth. It comes out in study, in the deliberate appropriation of education and culture, in the dedication to the protection of the socialist achievements and of our socialist fatherland against any imperialist attack and, not least, in our proletarian internationalism in action, our active solidarity with all peoples in the world fighting for their social and national liberation.

to become active in this sense is of course in the interest of socialist society. It benefits from it and carries it ahead, for which reason it also receives appropriate social recognition and appreciation for it. It would be one-sided, naturally, to look at the freedom of action only under this aspect. Our classic authors already pointed out that, in socialist society, the social activity of the individual in interaction with the conditions of public life is the foundation and decisive element in the development of essential human capacities and that social activity is the main road to forming personality and developing talents and capabilities, not only in one's work but equally so in other fields, such as the field of culture and art, for developing the ability to enjoy oneself in many respects and so forth. "Nothing develops personality as much as an active stand in life, a conscious attitude toward one's social obligation, when the unity of words and deeds becomes the everyday norm of conduct,"<sup>11</sup> Comrade Brezhnev remarked at the 25th CPSU Congress.

Such an active attitude in life, the social commitment, has become the crucial factor of personality development in socialist society because, as Karl Marx predicted in the "Theories on Surplus Value," the antagonism between society and individual has here been broken and the "development of the capabilities of the human species coincides with the development of each individual."<sup>12</sup> That is why socialism, for the first time in history, creates the social prerequisites for enabling everyone to develop his individuality. This is evidenced, for example, by our socialist educational system which, in conformity with its humanistic objective, makes sure that everyone can get a fine general education, and the individual can get training in his diversified talents and develop his abilities. That starts early in kindergarten and continues in school and other educational institutions. Or think of the potentials in the arts as they develop, for instance, through the regularly held workers' festivals and other forms of personal cultural activities, or of athletic talent, purposefully trained through the Young People's Spartacus Sports Festival. And still many other things might be mentioned in this context.

When bourgeois ideologists accuse socialism of contempt for individual concerns and of subordinating the individual to society and thereby depriving him of his freedom, his developmental possibilities, they engage in one of the most malicious anticommunist distortions of reality. Such slander usually comes combined with recommendations to modify socialism through the blessings of bourgeois democracy and freedom in such a way that it assumes a "human face." Among the historic achievements of socialism is that it has replaced the formal bourgeois freedoms and rights by real freedoms and rights and constantly develops and perfects them further. How else could it assume truly human form? Perhaps by the inhuman, destructive freedom of exploitation of man by man? By the dubious freedom to disseminate unscientific, reactionary anti-human ideologies in the name of freedom? Or by the freedom of the individual

that is often proclaimed in bourgeois constitutions and commemorative orations though, admittedly, it does actually not exist, unless he belongs to the ruling class in that society, to infuse his own opinion and his interests into the molding of public intent and the processes of economic and social decision-making?

Our criteria for the freedom of the individual and of society are not those of historically obsolete stages of development. Bourgeois individualism is just as little a criterion for how individuality makes itself prevail in socialist society. Those criteria stem from the nature of socialist society itself, from its inherent basic inevitabilities. Human freedom and individual development irrevocably belong to the essence of this society, are deeply anchored in the structure of its economy, its sociopolitical life, its culture. The fundamental requirement of this society to develop in every way all productive forces, above all economic growth and the productivity and efficiency of social labor, in order to develop the people's material and cultural standard of living, is no general requirement in the interest of some anonymous society apart from the interests of the individual. On the contrary, it expresses the vital interests of the individuals--the workers, co-operative farmers, members of the intelligentsia and all members of society.

The individuals' vital interest, first and foremost, lies in the safeguarding of peace, material security, the free development of his talents and abilities, and a cultured life. This interest, for all intents and purposes, coincides with the interests of socialist society in the development of the productive forces, the consolidation and perfection of the production relations, the development of cultural life, and creating and insuring favorable external conditions for the development of socialist society. Whatever aspect of the work of socialist society one may look at, its ultimate and supreme goal always is man: the development and happiness of the individual, which however cannot be attained outside, or even in opposition to, socialist society. The complicated economic, social, political and cultural problems that have to be coped with in realizing the meaning of socialism can doubtless only be solved on a social scale. Yet no social end in itself attaches to the solutions we seek, find and implement. The total interest of society is expressed in them, which not only recognizes individual interests but helps them come into play.

With regard to the problems of freedom this means that in socialist society individual freedom is exhausted neither in social freedom nor in the freedom of the collective. Individual freedom is not simply a consequence of social freedom, does not automatically evolve from it. Social freedom is the premise on which individual freedom can develop. Social freedom makes possible for the individual freedom of thought, of decision-making, of taking action and developing his talents and abilities. But these possibilities will assume the reality of individual freedom only in the



degree an individual takes advantage of them for his personality development and takes part, in accordance with his individual capacity and by investing his knowledge and skills and creative capabilities, in solving the tasks of the collectives and of the entire society. In practically taking possession of social freedom, in developing his initiative through his own free decision, and acting, in conformity with social requirements, according to his personal interests, an individual can develop his individuality and truly bring it into play.

Thereby the development of human individuality, of the creative capacities of the individual, at the same time becomes a condition for the further advance of society, individual freedom causing and advancing the development of social freedom. It was this aspect of the interrelation between individual and society, between individual and social freedom, Marx and Engels had in mind when they wrote in the "Communist Manifesto" that with the communist form of society replacing the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, there would come "an association wherein the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."<sup>13</sup>

The social freedom gained by socialism is prerequisite, basis and thus the historic framework, as it were, for the development of individual freedom. The development of individual freedom thereby then also becomes an essential criterion for the degree of maturity in social freedom and its steady further development for the good of all. Therein lies the dialectic of social and individual freedom in socialism, the characteristic process of its development. The possibilities for the further shaping of individual freedom in socialism depend on the degree reached in the collective control of the working people over their natural and social life processes. The growth of this control, in turn, depends on the conscious acts taken by the many individuals and on the individual potentials and abilities they invest in them.

#### Initiative--Real Possibility, Requirement and Obligation

The socialist revolution is a leap by mankind from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom also because with it, for the first time in history, a society made its appearance that makes possible and, without reservation, asks for the free initiative of each individual in all domains of public life. If in this society the individual applies his individuality the socialist way and develops in his activity his initiative as a component of the collective planned shaping and further development of the social conditions of life, then it becomes a mighty impulse toward social progress and augments the freedom of society. With it, the individual grows, his personality gains something, his character forms and becomes firmer. The society's gain in freedom thus amounts to a vital gain for the individual that expands the range of his development and so becomes a gain in individuality. It was precisely this question Lenin had in mind when he wrote, in his essay, "How to Organize the Comptition," that only through the construction of socialist society

the possibility would be created "for the broad masses, truly for the masses, to develop their spirit of enterprise, competition and bold initiative."<sup>14</sup>

Naturally, even in socialist society individual freedom is nothing definitive, nothing attained for once and for all and thus a definite quantity. It is always in a state of change and develops with the growth of the productive forces and with the perfection of the people's production relations and intellectual culture. From that one must proceed in wishing to judge today's developmental status and the current developmental requirements for social and personal freedom correctly. Through the shaping of the developed socialist society, we expand the conditions for personality formation, for a massive free development of individuality. That is an objective requirement of the social process rooted in the modern productive forces and their speedy further development as well as in the socialist power and property relations. The dynamics of our social development, for all intents and purposes, results from the creative initiative of the many individuals within the conscious, purposeful, planned activities of socialist society, activities based on the insights of our scientific world-outlook and the authoritative decisions by our Marxist-Leninist party.

These are extremely important interconnections for the strategy on economic development. At the 12th SED Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker made a point of the working people's great dedication to their work who "unite their activities in order to apply the advantages of socialism more and more in the GDR--in the interest of our society and for their own benefit."<sup>15</sup> This readiness to perform will bear all the more fruit, the better the working people are informed about the situation and solutions are discussed and decided on with them.

All this places high demands on our political-ideological work. We must take into account here that the majority of our population has already grown up under socialism, acquired extensive education in our republic and learned to think and judge politically and share the responsibility for society at large. All the more does the further development of free initiative call for penetrating and comprehensive insights into the inevitabilities of social development, the economic interconnections, and the objective requirements for political action--that is, expert knowledge prerequisite to free and responsible action on a higher qualitative level than perhaps a decade or two decades ago.

What our classic authors predicted about the interrelations between social and individual matters, between social and individual freedom in socialism, today, for all intents and purposes, controls the real process of life of our society and of the individuals belonging to it. It is our task to make ever better use of this wellspring of interrelations that socialism alone could tap and put into effect, on behalf of the life and happiness of each individual.

# FOOTNOTES

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5. Cf. Ekkehard Lieberam and Karl-Heinz Roeder, "Imperialism Securing Its Power on an Authoritarian Course," EINHEIT, No 3, 1980, pp 258 ff.
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SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHERS TO STRESS DIALECTICS, CLASS MORALITY

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[Article by Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, member, SED Central Committee;  
president, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; member, GDR Academy of  
Sciences: "Educating Active Fighters for Our Revolutionary Cause"]

[Text] Proceeding from the requirements and conditions of the 1980's, suggestions are made for more deeply thinking about education issues. Understanding the ideological-intellectual and social-psychological peculiarities of today's youth and a constructive, confident relationship with them is a decisive condition for success in our education. It is important convincingly to convey the theory and methods of our world-outlook to young people, instill a combative attitude in them and immunize them against imperialist diversion. Communist morality and moral education in the Leninist sense have to pervade all regular school activities.

In preparation for the 10th SED Congress, in educational matters also a creative discussion is under way in which we are assessing what has been achieved, proceeding from the ninth party congress resolutions and the guidelines of the eighth educational congress. Insights and experiences at hand have to be worked on, and we have to examine how to carry on our deliberations with an eye to the requirements and conditions of the 1980's.

**Awareness, Dedication and Responsibility**

Today's political struggles, the guidelines of the most recent Central Committee plena, and the speech to the Kreis first secretaries by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker have given many impulses to thinking more deeply about ideological work and education

matters. The 1980's make the highest demands on political awareness and orientation capability, steadfastness, willingness for performance and efficiency, the joy in dedication and a moral conduct in any field whatever--in strengthening our economic efficiency, coping with scientific-technical progress, improving the defense capacity of socialism and developing socialist democracy and the socialist way of life. It is the announced policy of our party deliberately to foster, further train and actively use these subjective factors in progress. That is of considerable consequence to the political-ideological work among youth, the development and use of our educational potential, and the communist education of the up-and-coming generation.

The young people who are going to assume responsibility in the years ahead were formed by socialism with its achievements and advantages. They are standing up well in the class conflicts of our days. Highly educated, taught allegiance to their socialist fatherland, firmly connected with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community, and with all progressive forces in the world, and ready for active solidarity, they are eager for responsibility and possibilities for proving themselves--and we are in no way oblivious to that with some youths there are some problems. We find the willingness and ability for high-level performance, open-mindedness to science and culture, responsiveness to scientific-technical problems, and interest in ideological, intellectual-cultural, ethical and esthetic issues. These young people avail themselves of the achievements of real socialism as a matter of course, at times it seems almost too much so. We would however be misled in our educational work without always considering the ideological-intellectual, social-psychological peculiarities and performance potential of today's youth.

A constructive, confident relationship with youth is and remains a crucial condition for successful ideological and educational work. Our party, the top representatives of which were outstanding youth functionaries, also has important theoretical knowledge and practical experiences in this regard. Understanding for youth does not mean, as was stated at the GDR's eighth educational congress, "to release youth from their responsibility; quite on the contrary, it must be demanded of them. But first young people have to learn how to bear responsibility for themselves and for others. This is why we must let them take part in the solution of problems and the implementation of tasks, why we must acquaint ourselves with their interests and carefully guide them, listen to their opinion, respect it, and take it seriously if they themselves do."<sup>1</sup> Such an attitude toward youth implies understanding and confidence as much as demands, consistency, open-mindedness, humor and refraining from petty regimentation. Such matters of principle with respect to the proper relationship with and attitude toward youth ought to play an important role in each party organization, especially in the schools and educational institutions.



Our imperialist enemy opposes the humanistic ideas and values of socialism with a whole arsenal of the most reactionary past and current ideologies, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, geopolitical and colonialist conceptions, and pessimism about the future and dread. A flood of the most vicious slander and distortions is being poured on the people. Modern mass media and sophisticated mass manipulation procedures are targeted and employed. Youth in our republic--as much as other working people--are themselves directly confronted with that in various ways. Our enemy has not abandoned the hope to make GDR youth waver in its stable political stance and firm allegiance to the socialist fatherland. Educational FRG Land ministers passed a resolution, "The German Question in Instruction," on 23 November 1978 which aims not only at poisoning FRG youth in the nationalistic-revanchist sense. Its declared objective also is to reach the youth in our republic with the counterrevolutionary thesis "that their homeland is actually called Germany and not GDR."<sup>2</sup> Any kind of historic distortion must serve that end--Prussian history, fascism, the anti-fascist resistance struggle, or the last 35 years. Perhaps one can still succeed--so they figure--in chilling the youth in our republic, at least ideologically. Delusion thus is their copy editor when bourgeois ideologists eagerly are propagating withdrawal into the private sphere, the idea of recalcitrance.

#### Political Decision on Scientific Ground

It is an important achievement that our youth systematically absorbs the scientific ideology of the workers class through scientific method from early on in the educational facilities, the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and the FDJ, and in extracurricular activities. That conforms to their need to gain a proper orientation in the world and to take sides deliberately. The teachers, especially in the social science subjects, work as propagandists in the truest sense of the word, making young people acquainted with the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and our party policy day in and day out. Social science instruction is intent on scientific quality, on making the pupils aware and convinced of the inseparable connection between theory and practice, and theory and party policy, on combining the teaching of fundamental theoretical knowledge with topical events.<sup>3</sup> Experience has taught us that theory becomes all the more an effective means for understanding policy and an aid in personal decisions and a weapon in the struggle, the more thoroughly and expertly it is imparted. Without solid knowledge and skill there is no political application and no educational effect in what was learned!

At times young people in the social sciences may be able to talk about one thing or another, but their knowledge is not solid, nor are they sufficiently able to apply it and correctly evaluate political events. Teaching plans and instruction materials in the social sciences focus on conveying basic facts, interconnections and inevitabilities. They aim at laying a foundation for the basic convictions in our world-outlook.

In elaborating them, we paid attention to determining more clearly the points of concentration and the nodal points in the material, the points of major emphasis to be treated. That succeeded especially well in the more recent teaching schedules and study materials for history grades 10 and 11 and civics grade 11, for example. The proclivity toward completeness often still impedes solid teaching and skill development, however. A more accurate definition of the foundations to be laid remains a task for further cooperative efforts among teachers, method designers and social scientists in the various disciplines.

For some social and political contexts it also holds true that thought must be given to how they are to be treated on the level of the most up-to-date data and facts, for instance the development of the world revolutionary process, problems in the coping with the scientific-technical revolution, the place value of science and technology, the ways and means for introducing economic contexts, a well balanced and accentuated presentation of our national history, and the dialectics between nature and society, for instance in connection with energy, raw material and environmental problems, the socialist performance principle, and the questions about the meaning of life and about what is desirable and valuable. It is and remains a peculiarity of social science instruction that, due to social development, and to new insights and topical experience gained by youth, certain teaching materials, and teaching schedules as well, must more rapidly be brought up-to-date.

Especially important and complicated is the matter of grade levels in social science education. A young person must deal with the same basic political-ideological questions on different age levels, always of course in relation to topical tasks, knowledge and experience. Social science education therefore has to be structured in such a way that certain basic political-ideological questions are picked up again and deepened on different grade levels and that the knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist principles concentrically expands. Unless grade level matters are properly coped with, young people will feel that concentric expansion and deepening is merely a repetition of what they already know. And then there are some subjects which even because of their teaching schedules and study materials lead to unjustified repetitions and duplication, for instance, about the character of our era, socialist economic integration, the historic leadership role of the workers class, or the essence and tasks of socialist state power. This calls for better correlation between instruction, basic study and propaganda activities.

The principles of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook are imparted in various social and natural science courses. In preparing the teaching schedules and study materials now in effect, and on their basis, a lot of good has been done to make young people aware, through a specific subject of instruction, right through that subject, of ideological insights and political and moral contexts. We paid attention here to V. I. Lenin's reminder of principle that instead of overusing the term

Marxism, we should impart insights and modes of thinking in workers class theory and policy by the whole manner of presenting subject contexts. Frantic political-ideological references or topicalizations remain ineffective or might even have negative effects. Always should we be mindful, even when managers make demands on the teacher, that there is no way at all to detach ideological cogency and persuasiveness in instruction from its technical-scientific and didactic-methodological quality. Ideological contexts and political and moral conclusions strong in the power to convince presuppose a deep understanding of scientific facts and inevitable connections. They become especially prominent in instruction where it is a matter of applying science data to problems of politics and life. Pupils are extraordinarily receptive to energy and raw material issues, environmental problems, matters of the application of nuclear energy, microelectronics, the materials economy, energy conservation, genetics and breeding. They comprehend quite well that the ways and means by which such problems are tackled and solved bear a close connection with our social order, world-outlook, and moral values and norms. The latest facts, information and interconnections is what the teachers need in this regard. Outstanding scientific specialists should take a part in providing them with them.

For enabling pupils to think dialectically, school instruction has great opportunities. Teaching schedules and study materials are based on the premise that skill in dialectic thinking cannot be reduced to conveying a limited number of thought principles and rules. As a thinking method, dialectics is to be demonstrated, developed and practiced within subject contexts, substantively and concretely, in application to questions of life. For some courses it has been worked out in greater detail how in the acquisition and application of subject knowledge elementary skills in dialectic-materialist thinking can be developed. Great efforts are being made to familiarize the pupils with the dialectics of the class struggle, the long-range prospects of the socialist revolution in the GDR, and the dialectic developmental processes in nature. But frequently there is still some trouble in convincing young people with regard to contradictory developmental processes in connection with advances and temporary reversals in the class struggle, with problems and contradictions in coping with our scientific-technical progress, in the development of new perspectives on and attitudes toward labor and in shaping a new way of life and so forth. Undialectic presentations with hyperbole are not credible and can produce illusions or even doubt. It is an important task for philosophers and educators to process available insights and experiences and show more concretely how young people can be enabled step by step to think dialectically.

Conveying our world-outlook demands problem-related instruction, active issue-taking, and independent thought. Especially under the current conditions of the class struggle, we must make more, in instruction and teaching, of the active, combative potentials in our world-outlook. We have to attack imperialist policy and ideology aggressively from our

own positions. Experienced teachers and propagandists will equip young people with facts, proofs and arguments that enable them to perceive the superiority of the Marxist-Leninist theory and method through concrete examples. They will demonstrate how imperialist ideologists, by changing "theories" and conceptions, contend for the basic interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and defend the exploitative and oppressive relations. At the same time they will show by concrete example how the enemy uses psychological and other data for his sophisticated anti-human manipulation practices and misuses in the mass media words and images for stupefaction and for arousing the lowest instincts and blind sentiments. Then they will immunize the young people most effectively against imperialist theories.

Our intention in political-ideological and educational work is not merely to instill a world-outlook in the young people, it rather must be developed into an active attitude toward the world. Insights and thinking methods of our world-outlook--and this conforms to its revolutionary character--have to be turned for the young people from "values as such" to "values for me." The values of our world-outlook and morality, in contrast to bourgeois value conceptions, are scientifically established and explicable. But understanding this per se creates no value relationship as yet; that requires the experience of these values. Experienced educators and propagandists will look at existing attitudes, opinions and moods and pick up experiences, induce young people to analyze, critically absorb and take issue with them in terms of their value from a theoretical standpoint.

Young people in the transitional age from childhood to adolescence, as one knows, develop strong self-assurance, sometimes all too pointedly. They seek to work out their ideas and values by themselves and to test them by applying them. As much as ideals have been realized and roads been paved in our socialist society, it would yet be risky for us to assume that it is altogether without problems for the young people of today to take possession of all this. Every generation and every individual must always again appropriate, acquire and achieve what is objectively worth having, preserving and defending. There is no other way for making convictions and attitudes unshakable, for establishing the active position that is needed for defending, extending and carrying on with what was achieved, and for adding new achievements to what there is which must stand their test today and tomorrow.

Not only should we explain interconnections and answer questions, we should also foster attitudes more and offer opportunities for proving them in practical deeds for our socialist cause. That is why we need more of an exchange of experiences on how we can create the conditions under which the young people's insights and acknowledgements combine with active attitudes and performances, with enthusiasm and the sense of sacrifice, and on how in test situations, in study and work and sociopolitical activities, convictions and attitudes can be proven and fortified through practical efforts.



## Instilling Communist Morality

In the further development of socialism, in the struggle for highest science and production achievements, and in the fashioning of the new way of life, morality becomes a crucial factor. It was not by coincidence that the GDR's eighth educational congress picked up the Leninist thesis that all youth education, training and schooling should have to be an imparting of communist morality.<sup>5</sup> That calls for leading all education up to class-bound moral decisions, moral testing every day, in interhuman relations, and in the struggle for highest achievements. The consequences resulting from that kind of orientation are not understood as long as they are, as sometimes happens, interpreted merely in conceptual terms.

The basis and orientation for communist morality is the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. It provides a scientifically established world view, a general mentality, that lays the foundations for moral decisions on behalf of socialism, the socialist fatherland, internationalist thinking, feeling and conduct, solidarity with all exploited and oppressed, a new attitude toward work, a willingness for performance, discipline, collective spirit, and creative thinking and behavior. Rationalization, the careful handling of working time and materials, an unimpeded operation of complex technical installations, the introduction of microelectronics, or the release and transfer of manpower are matters that bring with them many different moral demands. Conscientious, honest work for the socialist cause, the willingness to do any work that becomes necessary for society, the discipline and responsibility for fine quality all must express the extent to which the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and attitude toward the world have become everyday standards of living.

There may in life of course arise contradictions between ideological understanding and moral decisions, especially among adolescents. Young educated persons at times are inclined to theorize and reason about almost anything. In our educational work we must allow no gap between "great words" and "small deeds." Experienced educators are greatly interested in inducing young people time and time again to derive class-bound moral decisions from theoretical insights, helping them in this while practicing and fortifying appropriate conduct. Sometimes people still proceed from the indiscriminate notion that individual consciousness development would automatically, through political and ideological insight, give rise to moral consequences. Yet, while embedded within the totality of our ideology, morality is relatively independent. It aims directly at personal conduct, interhuman relations, and spheres of intimacy and presupposes an especially high degree of internal commitment, active attitude and identification. So morality cannot simply be "taught." It must be appropriated through confrontation and practical acts in individual decisions and collective testing. Young people seeking their place in life are very sensitive to moral questions. They seek ideals and models with which to identify. A certain inclination to be rigorous in one's moral judgment is one of the appealing peculiarities and privileges of youth. For educational work, that presents an opportunity and task.



Experienced educators will pick up the desire of young people for moral self-improvement. They will encourage young people to mobilize and apply their extensive knowledge, ideological insights and life experiences to situations making moral demands on them and to make their moral decisions consciously. Instruction and productive work offer manifold opportunities for it, and so does FDJ and pioneer work and extracurricular activity. They are, however, still too insufficiently being used. Much still happens more or less by chance, due to special occasions or events. Moral knowledge is sometimes imparted on too high a level of generalization still, exclusively on the level of overall social interconnections, needs and requirements.

It sometimes is simpler to identify with moral decisions in special class struggle situations and extraordinary test situations than to spot and evaluate the moral content of everyday conduct and social relations in one's own sphere of experience. But for every working person, and that includes every young person, it must first and foremost pertain, in his own sphere, to the moral responsibility for the socialist cause, the strengthening and defense of our socialist fatherland, the safeguarding of peace and the consolidation of socialism in the world, the materials economy, scientific-technical progress, discipline and order. We must help young people to pass from overall social and scientific-technical contexts to their own experiences and relations, their everyday study and work, their sociopolitical conduct and own decisions in life, and do so with full facts, vividly and without obtrusive sermonizing.

The coping with science and technology contains "tasks of enormous magnitude which youth must learn to understand as a task."<sup>6</sup> Especially young people must understand the scientific-technical revolution as a challenge to their own knowledge, skills, moral stance and performance. For the revolutionary fighter today, performance in production and science, in the struggle for top achievements and in innovator recommendations, what is essentially involved are moral questions. Without such personality traits as an attitude that will not be satisfied with what has been achieved and will always seek better results and more efficient solutions, without discipline, without the ability to work within the collective, and without endurance and persistence, high achievements are not possible anywhere--least of all in science and technology. We ought to launch more of an experience exchange on how we can establish an atmosphere in our polytechnical secondary schools where top achievements are challenged and rated as moral obligations. Creative thinking, seeking new solutions, boldness and the willingness to take risk should be stimulated morally and materially. Part of that would be to rate more highly, in the schools, in instruction, and in polytechnical and vocational training, that a risk is taken on behalf of new solutions than that one would play it safe along worn-out tracks. Experienced educators know how to create a level of demands, in instruction and in the collectives, that implies intolerance to mediocrity. They instill the awareness that it is immoral to take one's clues from the average, hide behind others, or live at the expense of

others. Such matters of principle with regard to a moral atmosphere and education also ought to be launched for discussions and exchange of experiences among the young people themselves.

There is also a connection here with the problem of the so-called general human moral values and norms. Marxism-Leninism stresses the class character of morality. Yet, with it, it recognizes that moral norms and values also relate to what is universally human, ethical experiences of mankind throughout the centuries. Moral norms and values like performing one's duty, conscientiousness, integrity, comradeship, respect for the aged, and modesty have been valued highly by the working people for centuries. Developed and enriched, they become firm elements of communist morality. With the continued shaping of developed socialist society conditions arise under which such universal human moral values and norms in inter-human relations and in the conduct of men are given their proper due. As implications resulting from that for our educational work, the eighth educational congress has pointed out that communist moral education includes ethical education in the sense of imparting universal human ethical values and modes of conduct, without being reduced to them.<sup>7</sup> Wherever we deal with young people we must not slight such matters as the ways and means of dealing with one another, courtesy, respect for the elders, cleanliness, and esthetic, cultured surroundings. Such norms and modes of conduct not only are compatible with our world-outlook and with communist morality, they are actually demanded by it and have to become elements of socialist ordinary life and regular habits. Thus, when we care for cleanliness, order, an esthetic and cultured atmosphere, for the conversational tone, frankness, integrity and comradeship in schools, homes, and FDJ and pioneer groups, it is not a matter of some secondary issues but amounts to ideological questions of principle in our educational conception and practice.

The rating of ethics and morality in education demonstrated by the eighth educational congress has in many ways animated the discussion and experience exchange. In pedagogs collectives the question is being discussed how the children's and youths' studies, work and sociopolitical activities at school can be shaped in such a way that the moral dimension contained in such activities comes out more clearly, moral motivation is more deliberately developed and the results achieved also are rated more in moral terms. In many places, pioneers and FDJ members with interesting ideas also take part in such discussions. They are talking about how the pupils' studies is motivated as a right and moral duty, the results of study are evaluated accordingly, and a high demand level is created in the classroom with regard to the ethics of study. Many schools are developing traditions in contesting for top study results, for scientific-technical innovator achievements, for responsibility for the neighbor's learning success, for mutual aid, and for sponsorships by the upper grades for the lower ones, all of which is deeply moral in substance. Fine use is being made of the great moral-educational potentials in the pupils' work, their socially useful work in school, in the residential areas and, in particular, their productive work in polytechnical training and in the socialist enterprises.

We attach great importance to making the pupils aware of the social and economic contexts in which their own productive work is embedded and to motivating their work assignments and qualitative requirements politically and morally. Labor competition with its opportunities for making comparisons and moral and material inducement become important educational tools. The example set by outstanding workers, the atmosphere in the struggle for top achievements within the work collective, movements and traditions of conscientious work, such as "May Hand for My Product" and "Notes on the Plan," all this releases important ethical and educational potentials. The pedagogs collectives are now considering how the schools can pick up the experiences imparted by the moral norm on industrial conduct in the socialist enterprise. That could tap important educational reserves.

Schools and other educational institutions now pay more attention to the moral implications of collective relations. It has been realized that it is a decisive question for moral education to find out which norms and modes of conduct prevail within the collective, what the demands and requirements are, what role comradeship plays and mutual aid, and frankness and integrity, and what is tolerated, fostered or resolutely opposed. Experienced educators know that with respect to the atmosphere in the collectives and the style and tone of relations there are no "small" matters one might ignore or let pass. That starts with the level of demands that exists in this regard in the pedagogs collective itself because from there crucial influences are brought to bear on the ways and means of pupils' relations in school. If clear demands are raised and clear norms are set, and valuable traditions are developed, the most ordinary matters of schooling, of cleanliness, order, discipline, study and work conduct, mutual aid and responsibility, and social activity become moral issues. Schools that work in that manner do not lack situations for moral decisions nor opportunities for young people to take a position and reveal their true colors, to stand up to their ideas and cope with conflict situations. No frantic search for that will then be needed. In every party organization and every pedagogs collective we need more of a sense of that moral education, understood in the Leninist sense, has to be a component of ordinary educational procedures at school in its whole complexity.

#### FOOTNOTES

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEED FOR INTENSIFIED 'HOMELAND HISTORY' STUDY DISCUSSED

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[Article by Prof Dr Willibald Gutsche, department chief, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairman, central executive board, Society for History of the Homeland, GDR Cultural League: "Homeland Bonds and Homeland History in Our Society." A translation of the 1978 EINHEIT article by Prof Walter Wimmer, cited in footnote 4 below, is published under the heading, "Historic, Socialist Concepts of Homeland, Fatherland Analyzed," in JPRS 72782, 7 Feb 79, No 1644 of this series, pp 25-34. A translation of an earlier interview with Professor Gutsche is published under the heading, "'Socialist Homeland' Propaganda to Be Intensified," in JPRS 73433, 11 May 79, No 1679 of this series, pp 28-37. The translated discussion of the values and dangers of regional patriotism by a number of Leipzig Bezirk dignitaries is available in JPRS 74156, 11 Sep 79, No 1714 of this series, pp 13-26]

[Text] The citizens' conscious creative participation in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is to a marked degree affected by their bonds with their more immediate socialist home area, organic component of our socialist fatherland, the homeland of the entire GDR people. A political-ideological task not to be underrated therefore is to make homeland history, on a high scientific level, so vivid and interesting that it will still more become a source of pride in our socialist fatherland.

The GDR citizens' love for their socialist fatherland is among the most important factors that make us step into the new decade with optimism. Fatherland, homeland--that is not just the mountains and valleys, as a popular song says. The people's homeland, their fatherland, is principally defined by the "given political, cultural and social setting"<sup>1</sup> in which the people live, work and struggle, which ultimately also determines their relations with their natural environment.



In the form of the GDR, which is the state embodiment of the best traditions of German history, our people created their socialist fatherland governed by true humanism, which, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, became the home for all its citizens where they, in social security and safety, because of the real socialism they themselves have created, truly feel at home. "It is because its citizens have created this state together and have made it what it is today that it is a true home for all who live here, a homestead, a being at home."<sup>2</sup>

These fundamental conditions also mold the relations the working people in our country have to the local environment familiar to them, to their hometown, for instance, their more immediate home, which develops within the scope and as an organic element of our socialist fatherland. In this more immediate area of work and living, where they shape their relations to society and nature directly and concretely, where their affiliations are especially close through their sentiments and experiences, and through their occupational and social activities, the citizens experience most concretely the connection between regional, national and international events, between their socialist fatherland and the socialist community of states.<sup>3</sup> From this "skintight" relationship with their environment in which they are "at home" especially intensive rational and emotional relations arise that play an important role in their relationship with their socialist fatherland and greatly affect their feeling, thinking and conduct.

What the substance of these human bonds with one's home and fatherland is, that depends on the prevailing social relations, on class membership and the class standpoint. Homeland and fatherland are indeed historic categories. They do not exist outside of society, their substance is class-bound. Under antagonistic class conditions, the love for one's homeland and fatherland was contradictory in nature. Whereas the ruling classes deprive the people of the country's wealth and have been misusing the working people's especially close ties to their home area, and their love for it, for purposes inimical to the people, for the revolutionary and all other progressive forces, love for the homeland and fatherland has always been an essential source of strength in their sacrificial struggle for a home, for a fatherland, in which the people's masses can develop their creative capacities free from exploitation and oppression.

The socialist revolution has abolished the contradiction between the people's love for their home and their being dominated and exploited by the reactionary classes. For the first time in the history of our people, the working masses, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, have conquered their own fatherland and homeland in the GDR, whereby they became the masters in their own land. In our country, that rid itself of exploitative rule, socialist homeland bonds have become a mighty force of the working people in their struggle for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the defense of their achievements.<sup>4</sup>

That also has given the people's love for their homeland a deeper and new meaning. Socialist love for one's homeland mainly grows out of the active participation in the revolutionary shaping of the homeland, from the experiences in the struggle and in life, from the people's new relationship with their history and their natural environment, from their conscious and creative participation as active and decisive shapers of their own history. That includes historic understanding because one's own personal experiences cover only a historically brief period and creative participation calls for an awareness that ultimately can develop only on the basis of historic insights. Only in a historic frame of reference can the inevitabilities of social development, and thus the lessons of the past, the achievements of the present, and the tasks for the future become understandable and conceivable in their whole scope. Knowing of the birth and growth of our socialist state and of its firm historic foundation is therefore indispensable for revolutionary conduct today.

#### Homeland History--A Source of Pride in Our Socialist Fatherland

For gaining and conveying such knowledge, homeland history holds a high place value because the image of history and historic consciousness, after all, also form to a considerable degree the knowledge and data of homeland history. Many people, especially the citizens of the younger generations, gain their access to more intensively taking issue with the past and to insights into historic inevitabilities through homeland history. They are directly confronted with historic phenomena, processes and personalities, historic traditions and results of historic developments, and most visibly so through their concrete manifestations and testimonials in the field of daily life and work, and because they are particularly familiar with the present and past of their immediate living and working sphere, in which they themselves shape history, many questions asked of history mature within this concrete context.

The citizen's conscious, active, creative participation in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, in his enterprise, his community, his residential area, where his relationship with the socialist state is brought to realization most directly, depends to a considerable extent on his consciousness of history, which in turn is closely interrelated with his knowledge of his homeland history, his relations to the present and past of his more immediate socialist home.

Finally, the working people's dealing with the history of their more immediate home area is an important element of life in socialism and contributes to the shaping of the socialist way of life. Knowing of the past of their homeland, being acquainted with its historic sites and with the cultural and scientific achievements performed there, and the awareness that one carries on the work of the revolutionary and other progressive pioneers, are essential elements in one's own revolutionary conduct and important conditions for feeling at home.

It therefore is a political-ideological task, not to be underrated, to encourage the working people's growing interest in homeland history, to make sure that the interest in homeland history will lead to knowledge about it, which will help deepen general historic knowledge and socialist consciousness. Knowing of the past and of the sacrificial struggle by generations of the best fighters of our people for a homeland freed from exploitation and oppression enhances the respect for the revolutionary and other progressive humanistic traditions of our people and helps develop and deepen the socialist love for one's homeland, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Rendering homeland history vivid and interesting then becomes a source of pride in our fatherland and of commitment to our socialist state.

Each place in our republic, every enterprise, every residential area is a piece of live history of our workers and farmers state that must be carefully brought to mind. Through it we can vividly illustrate the "historic reason" for our socialist fatherland as well as its dynamic development, the successes in the revolutionary struggles of previous generations as much as the achievements of our days, the magnitude of what has been accomplished. Homeland history thus helps deepen the realization that the "birth and growth of the GDR is the inevitable outcome and consummation of the centuries of struggle by the progressive forces in our people for a new humanistic German state."<sup>5</sup>

However, a better use of homeland history for molding consciousness is not attainable by simply assigning more space for it in our political-ideological work. In line with the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress on higher demands for the social sciences and for history propaganda, we must also seek to improve the quality of work in homeland history. Both in its breadth and its scientific depth must homeland history be further developed.

To this task is devoted in particular the Society for History of the Homeland under the GDR Cultural League, where thousands of working people--lay and professional historians, in close cooperation with the history commissions at the party's bezirk and kreis headquarters, the committees of the antifascist resistance fighters, the local state organs, the territorial science facilities, the National Front commissions, the bezirk chapters of the Historical Society, the FJJ, the memorial sites, museums and community halls and so forth--help gain and disseminate knowledge and understanding of homeland history whereby to deepen the bonds with the socialist homeland as an essential foundation for the sense of patriotic and internationalist responsibility.

Homeland historians explore the past of their communities and are chroniclers of the revolutionary changes of our days. Folklorists and cultural historians deal with the history of the production, culture and way of life of the working classes and strata, reveal progressive cultural achievements and cultivate our folkloristic legacy. Numismatists

tain insights into economic history by exploring the history of money which they make available to the presentation of homeland history. Historians of prehistory and ancient history ascertain, document and preserve land memorials and help in conveying a scientific picture of the world, and the friends of the cultural-historic tin figure illustrate historic and cultural-historic events by a scientifically sound and emotionally effective display of figures, scenes and panoramas. They all, through the results of their work, enrich our intellectual-cultural life--through memorial sites, ethnological showcases and museums, through preserving and caring for historic monuments, lectures, excursions and exhibitions, press reports and scientific studies, the organization of local festivals and the cultivation of progressive popular customs.

The Society for the History of the Homeland intends to improve the social benefit arising from the activities that stem from these various inclinations and the passionate joy in discovery, the various skills and facilities. The Society seeks to deepen the theoretical and methodological premises. Above all it seeks a greater inclusion of homeland history in the cultural-political work in the territory, in regional and supra-regional research projects and propaganda tasks, more intensive analysis by educational institutions and more cooperation between lay historians and science institutions. It focuses on a most feasible long-term coordination, timely and thorough direction and care, and the development of new forms of mass effectiveness.

Engaging in homeland history so vividly that it becomes an essential factor in socialist consciousness development can, of course, not be confined to the citizens affiliated in the Society for the History of the Homeland under the GDR Cultural League. Party and state functionaries who promote initiatives for making homeland history more useful for solving our current political tasks thereby release potentials for the further development of socialist national consciousness, and thus, for the development of the working people's creative initiatives in the economy and in other public domains.

A very important task of homeland history lies in our helping to write and disseminate the history of our socialist fatherland. The impressive advances by the people's masses, unprecedented in the history of the German people and inconceivable under capitalist conditions, became possible only through sacrificial struggles and efforts by the working people under the leadership of the workers class and its revolutionary party, and as a result of the fraternal aid from the USSR and the other socialist states. By the example of each village, each town, each kreis and each bezirk we can impressively demonstrate how our achievements were gained, augmented and defended by overcoming difficulties and contradictions and through heavy class struggle. Especially in this field of homeland history many interesting questions are still waiting for thorough answers, and here we must trace the effectiveness of the general inevitabilities in their specific manifestations and uncover, and make conscious, the dialectical connections between regional, national and international development.



Local chronicles deserve special attention here. The documents and materials collected, and chronologically and systematically arranged by the chroniclers, reveal much about the most recent political, economic, social and cultural development and about the natural conditions and environmental designs in our villages and towns. They not only are an important foundation for socialist historiography, but they also make possible imparting to the population a vivid picture of the most recent past of the specific locality while reminding the people time and time again of their own share in it in a vivid fashion.

Among the traditions to be tapped still more for class-bound and patriotic education mainly are those of the revolutionary workers movement. Our republic, after all, principally is the heir and fulfillment of its more than hundred years of struggle. The cultivation of this tradition also continues to deserve special attention in the field of homeland history. This involves not only a deeper exploration and more effective propagation of already well-known events and developmental trends in the history of the local workers movement and of the achievements of its leading personalities, but also the gaining of new knowledge and insights into the emergence and formation of the proletariat as a class, the changes in its structure, and the thus far often ignored "levels" of the class struggle, the proletarian cultural traditions and the development of the way of life of the workers class and the other working classes and strata within the territory. Specific traditions in the history of the local workers movement, such as the Erfurt Party Congress of 1891, the illegal resistance struggle of Dr Theodor Neubauer in Tabarz, the struggle of the revolutionary workers against the Kapp putsch in Gotha and Ohrdruf--to mention some examples from one bezirk--call not only for taking care of the memorial sites and showcases, but also for a more intensive and systematic exploration and popularization of them, if they are to be come effective in the consciousness-forming sense, as nodal points in home territory's picture of history.

From the fact that we are the heirs not only of the revolutionary workers movement but of everything progressive "our people and mankind have gained throughout history in insights into the nature of the world and of man, and have created in ideals pointing to the future, in beauty and poetry,"<sup>6</sup> and from the realization that socialist historic consciousness presupposes a comprehensive image of history, the task arises also to include more strongly than we have done in our homeland history work, without any constraints, everything valuable and positive that has formed throughout the centuries in the bezirk, the kreis, the town and the village, and that finds its fulfillment and continuation, at a higher level of social development, in the socialist GDR.

This involves all achievements for progress in the various forms of our society, mainly all revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and strata, but also all the humanistic accomplishments by representatives of other classes and strata, particularly during the rising phases of any of those social systems. That includes, for instance, also the



far distant past, the traditions of prehistory and ancient history, the analysis of which will enrich our image of history. In addition to discovering the cultural achievements in those millennia in human development, prehistory and ancient history, from the study of which the classic authors of Marxism gained essential insights for their design of a classless society, can make important contributions to deeper insights into historic inevitabilities.

There is no place in the whole territory of our republic the past of which would be devoid of revolutionary struggles, of achievements for the development of the productive forces, of the struggle by progressive forces against reaction and the work of progressive personalities for humanistic goals, such as Bad Frankenhausen with the peasants' heroic struggle under the leadership of Thomas Muentzer, Wittenberg and Eisenach, where Martin Luther worked, Erfurt, with the activities of the humanists circle, Burg near Magdeburg, where the military theoretician Carl von Clausewitz lived, Somerschenburg, where the Prussian army reformer Neidhardt von Gneisenau spent the last years of his life, to mention but a few examples. But even in this field of homeland history, it is not merely a matter of such well-known facts but, increasingly more also, of disclosing thus far still unknown progressive achievements which--while they partly may have only been effective within a restricted space--helped social progress to triumph, for which reason they are part of our inalienable legacy. In short: it is a matter of opening up our entire humanistic, democratic legacy.

#### Dialectics of Two Class Lines

The insight into the historic inevitabilities and the critical appropriation of our historic legacy demand that we understand homeland history, as all other history as well, "as it truly evolved and by what it was controlled--the dialectics of two class lines, the struggle between progress and reaction."<sup>7</sup> For one thing, the historic necessity and the importance of revolutionary and other progressive struggles, deeds and ideas, as well as the magnitude of the achievements by the forces taking part in them, can be measured, evaluated and appreciated only if we know their causes, impulses, goals and the political forms of the given class forces. On the other hand, homeland history cannot only deepen the working people's bonds with their socialist homeland by more intensively conveying to them the revolutionary and other progressive traditions, but also by a comparative analysis of diametrically opposed living conditions for the people's masses and ruling classes under the conditions of the exploitative society.

A higher grade of research and propaganda in homeland history mainly demands placing them still more solidly on the methodological principles of historical materialism. Here we especially have to do away with the notion that regional historical events merely serve as illustrations for general historic processes, that they only play a passive role. Such a presentation in homeland history contradicts all methodological principles

of the Marxist-Leninist conception of history because it ignores the objective dialectics of the regional, national and international.

The history of one's immediate home area is an element in the process of general history. Yet the universal inevitabilities have a specific way of asserting themselves in regional history, and the general process of history always also is at once a product of the specific and the particular. So one has to ascertain in what ways events and tendencies in homeland history have affected, conditioned or stimulated the process of general history and, vice versa, how general processes affected historic development in the home area, whereby one can present regional history understandably in its interrelations with national and world history. Here the history of socialist society in the GDR, the birth and growth of our socialist fatherland, should be given appropriate attention in its interaction with the development of the immediate home area. The main orientation in dealing with homeland history should, in principle, be directed at the cornerstones in the history of the German people in their specific regional manifestations. Homeland history will, in the final analysis, be massively effective only if presented concretely and vividly. Boring or dull presentations contradict objective historic events in which men always have acted and are acting with passion.

In understanding our mission in this manner, we shall succeed in giving more and more citizens access to a rational understanding and emotional appropriation of their socialist homeland in its historic dimensions and thus make an essential contribution to fortifying and deepening their love for home and fatherland. The home environment is placed in a new light. Familiar localities and landscapes combine with historic events and destinies. Squares, buildings and monuments, streets, alleys and meadows, palaces, castles and cottages are transformed into eloquent witnesses of important social and political confrontations and decisions, into arenas for heroic struggles between progress and reaction. Past generations of the popular masses and their striking leader figures shed their anonymity and become familiar to us in their life and work, their feeling, thinking and actions. We learn to empathize with their merits, their successes and failures, their defeats and victories, and with the magnitude of their achievements. This intimate encounter with history stirs justified pride in the achievements of progressive fighters of the past and reinforces our willingness to carry on their work at a higher level of development and to preserve and increase the wealth and beauty of our homeland, which now belongs to our people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Combative Militarism and the Anti-militarist Tactics of Social Democracy," "Werke" (Works), Vol 15, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 190.
2. "Appeal for the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 November 1977, p 2.

3. Cf. "The Citizen and His Hometown--Theses," "Der Buerger und seine Heimatstadt," Staatsverlag der GDR, Berlin, 1979, pp 128 ff.
4. Cf. Walter Wimmer, "Socialist Homeland--Achievement and Task," EINHEIT, No 12, 1978, p 1231; Willibald Gutsche, "Mission, Course and Goal--Speech to the Founding Assembly of the Society for the History of the Homeland, GDR Cultural League," MITTEILUNGSBLATT DES KULTURBUNDES DER DDR, No 3, 1979, Supplement, pp 1 ff.
5. "Appeal . . .," loc. cit., p 1.
6. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Successfully Being Implemented," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between the Party and the Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 46.
7. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 89.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WILHELM PIECK YOUTH COLLEGE'S GROWING IMPORTANCE REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press  
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['Information' feature report by Dr Klaus Boettcher, director, Wilhelm Pieck Youth College, Free German Youth (FDJ): "Wilhelm Pieck Youth College--Cadre Forge of FDJ"]

[Text] In the history of the youth college, 14 September 1950 is of outstanding importance. In compliance with a request from the Central Council of the FDJ, the President of the GDR, Wilhelm Pieck, gave the highest educational institution of the youth association the right to bear his name in the future. The speech Wilhelm Pieck gave on the occasion of the conferment of his name expressed the high appreciation for the work of the FDJ and the great confidence the party was placing in the strength of youth and its political organization. "If there was one thing that has always filled us with great pride and innermost satisfaction ever since there has been a GDR, it has been our youth's attitude toward the GDR and the great elan with which it has approached the tasks assigned to it," he emphasized.<sup>1</sup>

The Wilhelm Pieck Youth College, known in our organization under the honorific, "cadre forge of the FDJ," has had an important share in forming cadre faithfully dedicated to the party in all situations ever since it opened in May 1946. On the day when the name was conferred, Comrade Erich Honecker, FDJ chairman at the time, assured the president of the promise "to do all we can to train at the school that bears your name the best FDJ functionaries, the most courageous champions of the young generation in the struggle for peace."<sup>2</sup>

The youth college always has sought to live up to that standard. Nearly 13,000 FDJ functionaries have thus far graduated from this educational institution so rich in traditions and are standing their test in responsible functions of the youth organization, the party, state, economy, the armed organs and other mass organizations. Numerous have been the concrete tasks the various generations of FDJ functionaries have been

fulfilling during the various phases of the birth and growth of the GDR on orders from the party and the youth organization. Common to them always was and is to move ahead of all youth, mobilize them for implementing the party's program goals and thus make a significant contribution to the further shaping of unity and revolutionary continuity among the generations in our country.

#### Party Policy First Hand

Explaining the basic issues of Marxist-Leninist theory to youth, helping them more deeply penetrate the essence of fundamental party resolutions and imparting cogent arguments on topical issues--this SED tradition was fostered by Wilhelm Pieck together with Otto Grotewohl and many other executive functionaries. Twenty times Wilhelm Pieck stayed with teachers and students on Bogen Lake. With great propaganda skill, marked by simplicity, directness and great relevance to life, he explained the party policy and answered questions with which the youth functionaries were confronted during their work. To the students, Wilhelm Pieck was the brave fighter of the German and international workers movement and loyal friend of the Soviet Union, where he had lived for many years. From the president himself they got authentic information on the first socialist state in the world and its people and on the Leninist consomol.

Great joy and enthusiasm always again welcomed Comrade Erich Honecker when he would visit the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College. His speech in initiating the fourth one-year course in October 1954 became a guideline for training thousands of cadre. "It is a great honor and obligation to be a student at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College," he said. "It means investing all one's skill and abilities, one's talents and gifts, in acquiring high-grade scientific knowledge. It means approaching these studies and learning with stubborn diligence, indefatigable energy and tenacity. It means affecting one's fellow-students through one's personal example, comradely, frankly and honestly, and taking part in the development of a strong course collective. To be a student at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College means to work, study, live and struggle in the spirit of this great son of our people, this leader of the German workers class and its entire nation, this important Marxist theoretician, outstanding statesman and brilliant organizer."<sup>3</sup>

These words of commitment are heard since by the students of every course of study on the very first day of their arrival. They make a demand on the education and self-education of every youth college student. The wealth of thought in the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker to this day offers fundamental guidelines and impulses on how the cadre are to be enabled to meet the higher demands the 1980's are placing on the youth organization as the active helper and fighting reserve of the party in developing an unshakable class standpoint for the young generation, attaining a great increase in economic efficiency, and insuring the secure military protection of socialism, and on how they are placed in the position where they can give political and organizational leadership to the "FDJ Party Congress Initiative."



The implementation of the high FDJ objectives in preparation of the 10th SED Congress calls for cadre who fulfill their mission through solid, applicable knowledge, political conviction and revolutionary passion, who set examples for youth in their political stance and ideological steadfastness, their dedication and moral characteristics, who inspire bravery and are talented organizers, lead the political discussion in all youth groups, have respect for collectivity and distinguish themselves by great personal responsibility. They must be cadre who with political and organizational consistency attend to all the aspects of youth life, meet their test as fine propagandists and champions of our world-outlook and aim all their energy at the fulfillment of the SED program.

Young people have many questions and expect frank and party-minded talk about problems pertaining to the struggle by the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states for the all-round strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace, or those that touch on the causes for the exacerbation of the international situation by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, or on the variety of forms and the harshness of the class struggle in our time. Expert and convincing answers help further strengthen the awareness of the triumph of our cause and develop an active class position and the readiness for high achievements of one's own toward strengthening and protecting socialism. For the training of the organizational functionaries this demands imparting to them the kind of knowledge that will enable them to grasp the essence of complex phenomena in our time while creating many opportunities for them to prove their ideological steadfastness. Prerequisite to that are intensive study of the main works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and a precise acquaintance with the resolutions of the party and of the youth organization, mainly the SED program and the FDJ statute. That will train them in the ability to argue persuasively on all topical domestic and foreign policy issues and on organizational matters, as that is done at the school, for example, through the agitators contest.

We must thus constantly give thought to how we can make more efficient and more compatible with concrete social requirements the training of the 270 functionaries who are getting their preparation in the one-year courses for becoming kreis secretaries, bezirk executives, or members of the FDJ Central Council. The general scope of the instructional program, as ratified by the secretariat of the FDJ Central Council, is aimed at equipping the students with Marxist-Leninist theory, SED policy and the specific implications derived from all that for youth, so that they are in the position to disseminate them effectively among the young generation. The teachers and associates in the five departments attach special value to providing an ideological and historical understanding of the dialectics in social developmental processes in connection with the revolutionary world process and to the skills in taking issue, combatively and convincingly, and from the positions of socialist theory, with imperialist policy and ideology, especially with anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The main field of the educational and training work at the Youth College is a systematically conceptualized and rigidly conducted teachers training, aided by various forms of education and self-education in the students collectives. Through this unity we succeed increasingly in enabling the students to spread Marxism-Leninism and its implications to conscious daily acts among youth in such a way that everyone can sense the intellectual wealth and practical relevance of that science. That also includes our developing in the students the desire constantly to "consult" the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and also to continue studying after school, so as to acquire the correct political evaluation of the complex manifestations of our time and properly put into effect the militant spirit of our world-outlook in the ideological class struggle.

In his convocation speech to the fourth one-year course, Comrade Erich Honecker directed the teachers' attention to inseparably combining the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory with social practice, making high performance demands on themselves and successfully coping with the various and differentiated forms of organizational work resulting from the specific interests and needs of young people.

Through closely combining study with test situations, the students learn to disseminate Marxism-Leninism as a science that is a guide for action and the mastery over which helps in coping with social tasks better and better. It is a high demand made on the training of young professional revolutionaries always fully to meet the social requirements and to live up to the standards set by the organizational activists group. That also applies in particular to the contribution large segments of youth make to strengthening the GDR economically. The steep improvements our economy needs also come from the constantly increasing weight of the economic initiatives from youth. That reserves a prominent place in our training to the matters of political and organizational leadership in economic initiatives by the FDJ, the strengthening of its contribution to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, to a productive full-capacity use of our basic assets, to the struggle for the highest grade of labor, to a thrifty use of energy, raw materials and material, to production boosts in export-worthy products and high-grade consumer commodities, and to more efficient investment activity. The same applies to the study of the most progressive experiences of our best youth brigades. That is served by the "Treffpunkte Verbandspraxis" (Meeting Places for Practical Association [FDJ] Experience) at the youth college with FDJ functionaries as much as by the practical work done in the FDJ bezirk organizations, by sponsorships for basic FDJ organizations or youth brigades, and also by the activity of almost 100 students as propagandists in the FDJ study year. Thereby it is being insured that training never gets detached from the most progressive experiences in FDJ work but is enriched and perfected by it.

Also important are the Wilhelm Pieck Student Days. They are high points in the theoretical-practical work because they directly challenge and stipulate the scientific creativity, independence and organizational skills of the

students. Under the responsibility of the FDJ basic organization management, important events are prepared, long range, for it, for instance the Lenin seminars, "Shock Troop in the Struggle," held together with foreign students.

An element of the training program of an importance to the future cadre which is not to be underrated is that the students meet their test as organizers and cosponsors of great political events. This line of tradition started with many students taking part, during the first course the youth college gave, in the first FDJ Parliament in Brandenburg in 1946 and ranges all the way to the Fifth Friendship Festival of USSR and GDR youth in 1980 in Karl-Marx-Stadt. Thereby teachers and students help in organizing unforgettable experiences for youth. But also in the process of educating the FDJ cadre, high points like that and other forms of social activity, aimed at reinforcing the unity of thinking, feeling and action, play a great role. A solid legitimacy test for knowledge and sentiment is a fundamental condition for successful work especially for professional revolutionaries who are supposed to be able to convince young people and inspire them for our cause.

The Wilhelm Pieck Youth College also makes use of the great educational potential of the traditions of the workers class, of its party and of the youth organization as well as of the revolutionary youth models. The contest among all seminar collectives for acquiring the authorization to bear the name of a revolutionary model plays a key role in this. All members of the collectives familiarize themselves with the life and struggle of their revolutionary model and, by studying the best experiences of their struggle, get extensive ideas of the path they followed and a clearer understanding of their successes, difficulties and problems. Through becoming acquainted with their models, they discover characteristics and modes of thinking and conduct that help in coping with current tasks and further the willingness and ability for FDJ functionaries to contend for bringing the ideals of their models to realization, and help raise the efforts to deepen the young people's consciousness of history. Thus organization functionaries are reaching maturity whose supreme professional ethos lies in fulfilling with knowledge and passion any mission assigned by the party and the youth organization, "who are steadfast and faithful patriots, solid friends of the Soviet Union, and all-round educated functionaries, real leaders of youth who in every situation remain loyal to the workers class party."<sup>4</sup>

#### Successful on the Side of Good Friends

Since the day it opened, the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College has solved the tasks it received from the party and the youth organization, helped by energetic support of its friends. In the truest sense of the word it is a child of solidarity, especially from the most experienced and politically hardened socialist youth organization, the Leninist comsomol, in studying and creatively applying its experiences in cadre training. Above all, the young officers of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany were the ones who greatly

aided the FDJ in setting up the youth college. As early as in the first year of its existence, Soviet officers would often lecture there and help and advise the young teachers collective. Late in 1946, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany presented the youth college with a science library which also included V. I. Lenin's speech, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," the most important Marxist-Leninist document on youth policy. Nikolai Ostrovski's "How the Steel Was Hardened," Aleksandr Fadeev's "The Young Guard," works by Maxim Gorki and speeches and essays of Kalinin and Makarenko had a great educational influence on the youth college students. They had lasting effects on the young functionaries' thoughts about the Soviet Union and its youth and helped further deepen the sentiments of firm and indestructible friendship with Lenin's country.

At the new stage of cooperation between the Leninist consomol and the FDJ, within the framework of the "Peace Flight to the East," comrades at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College also got the opportunity to go to the Soviet Union and study consomol work there. As early as in 1951, the year of the first one-year course, leading comrades at the school went along on study trips to the Soviet Union sponsored by the FDJ Central Council. Experiences of the central consomol school--which today is the Consomol College that, since 1949, has also made possible the training of FDJ functionaries--in teaching Marxism-Leninism, in organizing study schedules, in cabinet work and management activity are much help to the training given at our youth college. There is an extensive exchange of delegations and lecturers going on, representatives of the youth college attend summer courses at the consomol college each year and spend several weeks in Moscow to study, and the exchange of science papers has been expanded.

For 4 years now, all the students of the GDR courses at the youth college have also been admitted to this broad exchange of experiences. There is a special friendship train that takes them to the Soviet Union where they then study consomol experiences in situ, as it were. Joint seminars on the communist education of the young generation, extensive exchange of ideas on the work of young professional revolutionaries, excursions to revolutionary memorial sites, meetings with veterans of the party and of the Leninist consomol, and evenings in Soviet families help in mutual enrichment and further solidify our friendship. Of great benefit for cadre training at the youth college also has been the cooperation with the central political schools of the fraternal organizations in socialist countries.

#### School of Proletarian Internationalism and Anti-imperialist Solidarity

As FDJ and solidarity belong together, so the cadre forge of the FDJ has proven at all times a school of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity. When the FDJ gained increasing international radiating strength, many youth associations wanted to study the experiences of our youth work. In January 1958 the first one-year course for cadre from foreign youth organizations got started. Nearly 2,000 friends from 75 youth



organizations have up to now taken 22 one-year courses at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College. Constant contacts between FDJ members and the representatives of friendly youth organizations have had a positive effect on the development of young professional revolutionaries. Our foreign friends become acquainted here day in and day out with real socialism and with our youth and its youth association. FDJ students in turn can familiarize themselves with the problems in the struggle of progressive world youth against imperialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism. They get acquainted with comrades and friends who in their home countries themselves underwent capitalist exploitation, torture and terror. At the tribunal, "We Indict Imperialism," held annually at the youth college and at the receptions given the delegations, they present shocking evidence for the crimes imperialism is committing against mankind, especially against youth.

The cooperation between the FDJ members and their foreign partners reinforces their sentiment of joint responsibility to the anti-imperialist struggle. That is underlined in all the concluding events in the international courses of study.

The training program for the international courses contains instruction in the basics of Marxism-Leninism and in the experiences with the birth and consolidation of real socialism in the GDR. That also includes an extensive excursion program and the attendance of major FDJ events. Thus our friends are acquainted with values and advantages of socialism and thus, with desirable ideals in their own struggle.

Still in another respect the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College makes an important contribution to the internationalist activities of the FDJ. Since 1964 the youth college has been preparing the "FDJ Interbrigadiers," the "Ambassadors in the Blue Shirt," for their assignments in friendship brigades on four continents. At vocational training sites in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, or Mozambique, the blue FDJ banner is waving, as it is at the construction site of the friendship hospital in Hanoi or of a delivery station in Sao Tome and Principe, at repair workshops in Angola or in Ethiopia's harvester-thresher compound, which helped the peasants in their harvest, or in the construction of a cement factory in Nuevitas, Cuba.

Our youth college has helped write the history of the FDJ and has traditions to which it will be committed always. It finds its most important task, in preparation of the 10th SED Congress, in continuing to train and educate such FDJ cadre that will "help the party educate steadfast fighters for establishing the communist society who act in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism."<sup>5</sup> Thereby it stands its test in the spirit of Wilhelm Pieck, whose name it has borne for 30 years.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Wilhelm Pieck, "Knowledge is Power!" "An die Jugend" (To Youth), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 139.



2. Quoted from Heinz Schirmag, "The First One-year Course at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College," JUNGE GENERATION, Berlin, No 11, 1950, pp 500-501.
3. Erich Honecker, "To Be a Student at the Youth College Means to Work, Learn, Live and Struggle in the Spirit of Wilhelm Pieck," "Zur Jugendpolitik der SED" (On SED Youth Policy), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 242.
4. Ibid., p 244.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 134.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press  
13 Jun 80 'Resumes' addendum

[Text] Socialism's Peace Policy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research; vice president, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation; pp 691-698]

[Text] The basic humanistic concern of socialism, seeking the free personality development of man, and thus his liberation from exploitation and oppression, inseparably connects with the struggle for the peoples' life in peace and security, against the imperialist policy of aggression, and against the use and threat of force in interstate relations. Through the implementation of the peaceful coexistence policy, socialism also paves the way to the most favorable conditions for insuring social progress. All peoples, all human civilization, benefit from socialism's peace policy.

Solidarity--Humanism in Action

[Summary of article by Kurt Seibt, chairman, SED Central Auditing Commission; president, GDR Solidarity Committee; pp 699-705]

[Text] The history of the organized workers movement also is the history of the struggle and of the solidarity of the working people and the oppressed. Proletarian internationalism is an irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against oppression and exploitation and for peace, democracy and progress. Our republic has always received solidarity and

has from the beginning, and increasingly more so, practiced solidarity. The GDR has stood by the peoples in their struggle for national independence, peace and social progress. The work of the GDR Solidarity Committee is an inseparable component of GDR policy.

#### Testimony to the Struggle for a Socialist German Fatherland

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 706-712]

[Text] The program declaration published 50 years ago by the KPD on the national and social liberation of the German people is among the outstanding documents of the struggle of German communists for liberating the German people from capitalist exploitation, imperialist oppression, fascist threat and militarist war policy. It most impressively demonstrates that the KPD, in its implacable struggle against fascism and war, pointed out the true path to a socialist German fatherland, which became a reality in the form of the GDR.

#### Rationality For or Against Man

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Georg Ebert, economist, director, Department of Political Economy of Socialism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; and Dr Uwe Moeller, economist, senior scientific assistant at the party college; pp 722-728]

[Text] Free personality development and the well-being of man, finding their firm foundation in the public ownership in the means of production and the political power of the workers class in socialism, characteristically express real social humanity. Why are economic performance development, rationalization and higher efficiency, and the fundamental humanistic demand raised by socialist society, mutually interdependent? What marks socialist production as humanistic? These questions are answered in confrontation with bourgeois theses.

#### Rationalization in the Interest of the Workers

[Summary of article by Dr Horst Martens, director, Friedrich Engels SED Bezirk School, Frankfurt/Oder; pp 729-733. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Petrochemical Combine Expansion, Rationalization Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Socialist rationalization is carried out with man and for his benefit under socialist production relations. His active participation in it is a decisive criterion. By examples taken from the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine the article demonstrates what tasks have to be solved in this, how the working people are recruited into active participation through our ideological work, and which problems are coped with in the process.

#### Humanistic, Progress Promoting College Education

[Summary of article by Dr (honorary) Hannes Hoernig, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Science Department, SED CC; pp 734-741]

[Text] Science and education become decisive factors in the social reproduction process. That increases the demands, which are laid down in the Politburo resolution, "Tasks of the Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society." Based on that, the article emphasizes that all measures and deliberations for improving college education have to be based on the well tested principles of unity between training and education, teaching and research, and theory and practice. Many facts are adduced to explain the importance of these principles that must needs be considered as existing in unity.

#### Scientific-Technical Progress and Humaneness

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Herbert Hoerz, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; program director, Academy's Central Institute for Philosophy; pp 749-756]

[Text] Science and technology in socialism become increasingly more important means for implementing the ambitious socialist-humanistic goals. What prevents imperialism from coping with the scientific-technical revolution for the good of the working people? The article refutes theses of bourgeois ideologists of a "crisis in humanity" and the demands for a "new humanism." The article also deals with the connection between efficiency and humaneness and with ideological problems in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress on behalf of social progress in our society.

## From Postulate to Action

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wilhelm Girus, director SINN UND FORM, journal of GDR Academy of Arts; member of the academy; pp 780-788]

[Text] As an ideal postulate humanism has existed for millenia. But only socialist society, based on the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and on the political and economic power of the workers class, can bring humanism to realization, provide it with new substantive and historic dimensions, and perform the qualitative leap from utopian to real humanism. The strength of socialism as it exists and the struggle by the popular masses are the basis for the worldwide breakthrough of real humanism and for preserving peace.

## In the Field of Tension Between the Ideal and Reality

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, candidate member, SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; pp 789-797. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Communist ideals embrace the goal as well as the process. They express tendencies and objectives that are inherent in the penetrating changes during the shaping of the developed socialist society. These ideals have absorbed progressive value concepts of past ages. In the literary and art products by socialist authors, the humanistic ideal appears as a direct artistic expression or as an element in the overall art design. The relation between reality and ideal in art and life is based on the dialectical unity between what has already been achieved and what waits to be achieved still.

### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 101, 7 Jul 80 'Iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Against Literature Glossing Over Reality"]

[Text] The theoretical SED organ EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1980) has criticized a literature that presents socialist conditions in the GDR as being free of conflict and glorifies them. Embellishment was uncalled for not only because it gilded the picture of heavy going in development but because it denied the contradictions as the true impulses for real development.



Such embellishment thus could at the most create subjectivist wishful thinking but was unsuitable for the molding of ideals. Many works in GDR literature, EINHEIT continued, spoke of matters unattained, cumbersome, unfinished and even erroneous in the developmental history of socialist reality, without the "adversary" getting the idea he would want to tie their authors into knots. That would not happen when such critical presentations made the "ideational strength of socialist party-mindedness" perceptible. Those relatedness to reality was oriented to the fact that a contradiction did exist between socialist society's ideal and reality which time and time again would have to be resolved. Uncovering such contradictions could be a "form through which socialist party-mindedness expresses itself."

#### Women's Equal Rights--One of the Greatest Achievements

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Herta Kuhrig, director, Social Policy Program, Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, GDR Academy of Sciences; acting chairperson, Academy's Scientific Advisory Board on 'The Woman in Socialist Society'; pp 806-812]

[Text] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels showed the women's issue to be a class issue. Realizing women's equality is an inherent element of the historic mission of the workers class. The differences, of principle, in the social position of woman in the two social systems most vividly confirm both the antiprogressive nature of imperialism and the humanistic character of socialism. Whereas no capitalist country has resolved the women's issue, the implementation of women's equality under socialism is one of its greatest achievements.

#### International Class Conflict and New Demands on Socialism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Dieter Klein, economist, social science dean (prorektor), Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 820-827]

[Text] Compared with the early 1970's, today socialism is developing under changed conditions. They are: (1) The new dimensions of the goals in the shaping of developed socialist society; (2) the tasks connected with the coping with the scientific-technical revolution; and (3) the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the advances of the revolutionary world process, the exacerbation of the international situation and of the struggle for detente and peace. From there, new and higher demands arise which are met by our party strategy and the mass initiatives of the working people.

## The Current Crisis of the Capitalist Society in the USA

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Aptheker, member, CPUSA Central Committee; director, American Institute for Marxist Studies; pp 828-835]

[Text] Intensified exploitation, racial oppression, unemployment, inflation, and social insecurity mark the situation of the working people in the United States. Monopolist profiteering and rising armament expenditures are the most significant causes for it. The inhuman domestic policy of monopoly capital is in line with a foreign policy which, aggressively, jeopardizes peace, its escalation having been prepared over the long haul, and systematically so. The CPUSA is fighting in the front rank of resistance against reaction, uncovers the causes of the crisis and shows the way for a fundamental solution, which leads across a broad antimonopolist alliance.

## Global Problems and Humanism

[Summary of article by I. T. Frolov, chairman, Scientific Council for Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology, Presidium, USSR Academy of Sciences; a slightly abridged reprint of the first article in a series on philosophical, social and methodological aspects of these problems, published in Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian, No 2, February 1980; German version, EINHEIT pp 840-847]

[Text] The political, social and philosophical aspects of the global problems are subject to scientific research as well as to ideological conflict. The Marxist-Leninist conception proceeds from the proposition that a complete solution of the global problems, being of deeply humanistic concern, is inevitably tied to the development of the socioeconomic form of communist society. While there are states with differing social systems, their requisite international cooperation in solving the global problems is an important contribution to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence.

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MINISTER SPEAKS ON SIMPLIFICATION OF LAWMAKING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Jul 80 p 5

[Text] Legislation is one of the fundamental means of society's state and economic leadership and management. Thus it is imperative for socialist development to have an up-to-date, clear-cut and stable legal system which is in harmony with social and economic conditions. A good law or order is capable of adequately serving the demands of society on as long a range as possible. But life is changing, constantly setting new requirements which must be followed by the law. The Ministry of Justice makes a codification plan for the government every 5 years, so that the up-dating of outdated laws can be carried out according to plans. We discussed this planned process with Dr Imre Markoja, Minister of Justice.

[Question] If regulations change too often, one cannot even study them, let alone learning or putting them into practice. And yet, the real value of a law depends on to what extent and how many of the interested parties are able to follow it.

[Answer] Indeed, the frequent change of laws is an existing danger. But this is partly unavoidable in our rapidly changing life. At any rate, the government is always trying to thoroughly examine the necessity of changing the law and to make statutory provisions lasting.

There has been an extensive reform of the law in Hungary in the past 10 years. This work is essentially finished and thus a system of law does exist which is suitable for present social conditions. Since it is hoped that we in the top legislative branch have enough time now to breathe, we can put more effort into putting the so-called "statutes of the lower levels" in order. An abundance of bureaucratic overregulation is to be found in this area, resulting in very dangerous legal red tape. There are about 4,000 statutory provisions today; most of these are not laws, law-decrees or government decrees but ministerial orders and injunctions. This

in itself is not little but if we also include the tens of thousands of directions, which have many names and titles but are all legally binding--such as, for example, "views," "recommendations," "ordinances" and "general orders"--it can be seen without any special survey that this area of our legal system is very complex.

Of course, the trouble is not that there are such directions, interpreting the statutes in the executive sphere, since these can also be valuable means of leadership. The problem is that these possibilities are being used excessively, thereby shackling legislation; the reasons for issuing them are unclear, and they sometimes hide in them orders which should be issued in statutes. The government recognized this some years ago and ordered the Ministry of Justice to examine, with the cooperation of the other portfolios, the lower-level statutes and the system of directions. Last year we were already able to report some results to the government, but the real "break-through" will need continued and thorough analyses which are needed to determine which portfolio's laws must be touched up and reframed.

[Question] Incidentally, if there are so many directions in legal guise which can hardly be clear to the parties concerned and which are for this reason difficult to implement, why are computers not being used?

[Answer] The development of a computerized record system was started years ago. In the Ministry of Justice, the organizational prerequisites for it already existed. We have even signed a contract with the Central Bureau of Statistics for the use of its machines. At present, experimental coding is being carried out in one legal branch: family law. The complete legal material on this subject--including the Supreme Court's mandatory views--are fed into the machine. We will computerize the entire Hungarian legal code according to the experience gained. Later we will want to include the practice of the law into this system, too. It is a future objective that even a district court or a district council be able in a few minutes to easily get a clear picture, of the existing statutes in the given matter, including the lowest-level regulations as well, and of the legal interpretations it must consider! Of course, to develop such a system is expensive and it cannot be done from one day to the next. Nevertheless, it will be an accessory indispensable for modern state government and very useful for the implementations of the law. But, of course, it will only be an accessory.

We will survey those areas first where extensive reframing and modernization is most urgent. The related tasks will be included in the government's new 5-year codification plan as well. We already know, for example, that the entire legal material of education must be inspected and reframed, material which is also extremely complex and unclear at present. We made an agreement with the minister of education that we will do this job jointly and as soon as possible. We must work in cooperation with the portfolios for only they can realistically decide on technical matters.

[Question] What other trends will the codification have in the next 5 years?



[Answer] We can answer this unequivocally only if the Council of Ministers will accept this program at the end of the year. At any rate, we will probably have priorities in the areas of economy and public administration. Not to mention others, the contract system plays an important role in the national economy. Experience shows that the contract system is not functioning properly. And the reason for this, aside from economic factors, is that we looked at the economy too idealistically when we did the legal regulations earlier. Of course, we could not foresee certain economic problems which later emerged. Our task now will be to examine how we can bring the legal system closer to life and what kind of--perhaps temporary--means would be possible for us to include in order to make the contract system work better.

[Question] There are those who say that the responsibility system is not working perfectly either, that the legal framework for decisions--and the responsibilities thereof--is not clear enough.

[Answer] In a certain sense, it is not even worked out. This statement was also heard at the party's leading bodies. The legal means--of criminal, civil, labor and other laws--do exist but calling people to account often does not happen nevertheless. In several areas the authority of decision-making is ill defined, with many overlappings and thus too many people can be held responsible--and this leads to the disappearance of the person really responsible. The decisionmaking structure must be thus examined, its legal framework, which must be the basis of responsibility, must be determined. The government ordered the Ministry of Justice to examine, together with the other portfolios and supreme national authorities, our entire system of contracts and responsibility and, on the basis of the results, to work out the conceptions which also indicate the direction which the continued development of the legal system should take.

[Question] There has been for a time a silent change in our public administration. However, there is still no extensive program for the improvement of administration.

[Answer] There will be. In order to further modernize and simplify public administration, the Council of Ministers decided to work out an extensive program, and even asked the Academy of Sciences to submit to the government its own research plan for the improvement of administration. As far as we are concerned, it is almost certain that in the course of the program's implementation a new law of procedures in state administration will have to be made. Its objective will be to make the procedural regulations help in taking simpler and more efficient administrative action on matters of the citizens and the various state organs, in strengthening the discipline of citizenship, and in further developing the democratic character of public administration. And there is a party resolution that requires us to improve the elective franchise in the name of the democratization of the state's functions.

[Question] The extent to which the masses take part in legislation is an excellent indication of the state's democratism. What do you, as Minister



of Justice, want to do to involve society even more than before in planning bills or--and I go even further--law-decrees so that they can this way become refined and assume a shape?

[Answer] It is my conviction that the possibilities at our disposal in this area are not yet exploited. I think the parliamentary committees must take a bigger role in the preparation of bills, for this in itself broadens the democratism of legislation. And they should do it before they have been established in practice when only formal changes can be made in them. I also find it feasible that the plenum of the parliament, in addition to the discussion of concrete bills, should make a periodic and extensive survey of legislation, including its trend in legal rights, questions of content and method of bill preparation, and its democratism.

The other possibility may be exploited by widening social and professional debates. Of course, even up until now, the flaw was not in a lack of social and professional debates concerning important bills but in the fact that these often were formal. We ourselves also contributed to this, for in certain cases we offered the bill for debate so late that everyone felt that there was hardly any time left for changes and for a thorough analysis and application of the observations. If we proclaim--and this is our conviction--that the social debate on the plans of bills and law-decrees is useful, then we must also be more efficient and organized in fostering these.

[Question] Indeed, this effort is very important in legislation, as it is the law that determines what we can and cannot do in our lives, and how the state and the economy should function. But however perfect a statute may be, only practice will show its effect. Here is a new law. It is said that one of the most important effects of last year's Criminal Code is that the number of "prison dwellers" has decreased. Is this unequivocally good and is this what is expected of the law?

[Answer] This, too. The new criminal code, among other things, reformed our penal system as well and gives the courts more alternatives to prison terms than before. Sentencing can thus be more differentiated and more just, and the number of "prison dwellers" can indeed be decreased. True, it was pretty difficult to change the old practice of sentencing by the courts to the new regulations and possibilities. The change came slowly in applying more differentiated penalties instead of prison terms and in being more consistently strict where this is required by the new criminal laws. Thus I have the feeling that the courts' liberalism, that is manifest here and there, is--true, only in part--responsible for the dwindling numbers of prisoners. Of course, the basic tendency of the new criminal code is to incarcerate only those people whose reeducation can take place only there and where there is no alternative to restrain them further criminal acts. Those who can be restrained from further criminal acts by other means and penalties, must not be punished by imprisonment, the gravest penalty that can be carried out.

[Question] There are those who question the reforming character of prisons and the efficiency of the education there. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] The new Criminal Code--and the resulting whole series of orders of execution--aims at making our prison system really serve education. It is a worldwide experience that the effect of the penalty is disproportionate to the huge financial and spiritual investment in developing the educational functions of the prisons. We tried in orders of penalty execution to make all activities--economic incentives--help as best as they can in changing the convicts' form of consciousness and views.

[Question] This needs a social background as well, of course.

[Answer] Absolutely. For the former convict can stay on the road of decency only in a suitable social environment. This is also a reason why it is fortunate that the new orders more closely connect the enforcement of penalty with the so-called after-care activity which has taken a favorable direction in the past years. There are more and more signs that society is taking a concrete and active part in reeducating criminals, especially in the period when they come out of prison and must find a place, and when their employers must look after them. There are many enterprises with which we have signed contracts in this regard, most recently with the auto plant of Csepel and the construction enterprise of Zalaegerszeg. I am convinced that these enterprises are doing this work very conscientiously.

[Question] But if there is no adequate differentiation in the prisons between the convicts--if a one-time offender is put together with a hardened criminal--their reeducation can hardly be effective.

[Answer] The new law-decree on penalty enforcement gave many possibilities for separation and differentiation. Thus, in addition to the different kinds of prison classes, there are already so-called temporary groups as well where the long-termers are being thoroughly and carefully prepared for life after release. So-called remedial/educational groups have been created where the newest results of pedagogy and health science are used for the common goal of education and healing. Higher security and disciplinary sections had to be established in order to put hardened criminals who cannot fit in under more intensive control. But many other new measures--such as, for example, the possibility of self-initiative organization--help in developing a much more differentiated system of penalty enforcement. At least we hope so. For life often vitiates even the most beautiful conceptions.

[Question] As, for instance in the new--new? 6-year old--family law that had social repercussions. Six years ago I talked with you about the new family law; as state secretary of the justice portfolio, you said then that this law, while it is extremely family and child centric, does not forcibly keep together families that have been disintegrated; it makes cultured divorce possible, for if the parties to the divorce go to court

with a mutual agreement, they do not have to "throw mud" at each other only to get the divorce. Now, after 6 years, we find that the number of divorces is very high. Does not the family law, which sanctioned the legal institution of the divorce-by-agreement play a role in this?

[Answer] Certainly it plays some role. While 90,000 marriages are made every year, the courts dissolve 28,000 marriages. The number of divorces was will 23,000 in 1974. But I think this is not a legal but a social problem; the law here plays only a secondary, albeit not insignificant, role. As we formulated the orders of the family law, our main goal was to defend the institution of marriage, to increase the responsibility of to-be-married and married couples toward each other and toward society, to help further strengthen the family, and to increasingly defend the interests of children. But it was also our goal not to force by law the continuation of marriages which could not fulfill their human and social role. We examined and analyzed--together with the women's council and other social organizations--the social background of divorces, the negative social consequences of divorces, and the effectiveness of legal regulation several times. With regard to the latter, we drew the conclusion that the legal regulation provided by the new family was basically right.

If there is something wrong in the area of the law, it is usually its application. This probably originates from the fact that some of the divorce judges do not yet have enough experience in life and the good judgment necessary for these matters, and thus a mechanical and schematic "administration" is not uncommon. Although I know that when the litigants for divorce go to court with a mutual agreement, there is no special factor to be examined, and this worries me a little. We are not averse to seeing what could be done--with a little refinement and adherence to the principles of the family law--to decrease the number of divorces. We submit the results of our inquiries and our proposals to the party and state institutions concerned.

[Szabo] Thank you for the discussion which showed that the new statutes, which meet life's requirements, are just as important as the requirement of legal stability. It is not a simple task to bring these two demands into harmony with one another. However, this would be desirable, as both of them happen to be in society's interest.

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KOLAKOWSKI COMMENTARY ON DISSIDENTS, SOCIALIST SYSTEM NOTED

Brussels LE SOIR in French 22 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[White paper by Leszek Kolakowski, Polish philosopher and writer: "Let Them Eat Socialism!"]

[Text] Following is an exceptional "white paper" written by Leszek Kolakowski, the noted Polish philosopher and writer.

Between 1955 and 1957 Kolakowski was one of the promoters of the movement which marked the end of Stalinism in Poland and opened the way to the famous "Polish October" of 1956. In the 1960's, as a professor at Warsaw University, he was one of the leaders of a democratic current which opposed the dogmatic trend which was raising its head in Poland. He was dismissed in 1966 and has been living in the West since 1967.

Formerly a professor in Canada (Montreal) and the United States (Yale University in particular), Leszek Kolakowski is currently a professor at Oxford where he is a fellow of the famous All Soul's College. He is the author of a number of works published in several languages, considered authoritative in the areas of philosophy and the history of philosophical and religious doctrines. His latest work is a monumental history (three volumes) of the main Marxist currents.

Kolakowski, who remains a Polish citizen, is one of the founding members of the KOR, the social self-defense committee, and the main democratic opposition group in Poland. He is the only member of the KOR to live abroad and its only spokesman in the Western countries.

A Polish joke tells of the history of a young man taking an examination at at the School for Communist Party Cadres.

"Tell us, comrades," the examiners ask, "what is the difference between capitalism and socialism?"

"Capitalism is synonymous with tyranny, inequality, injustice, misery, international hatred, war, oppression, corruption, and class struggle. Conversely, socialism gives us freedom, prosperity, equality, fraternity, progress, justice, and peace. . . ."

"Very good, comrade. . . Here is another question: What is today the most important task facing the party and the country?"

"To catch up with and outstrip capitalism."

This is an old joke going back to the happy times of Khrushchev, when the slogan of "Catching up with and outstripping capitalism" was fashionable and when the leaders were trying, still clumsily, to offer to the party, if not to the entire population, a vision of communism as an ideological value. Such attempts have been largely abandoned.

Throughout eastern Europe the question is not to know how to imbue the people with a communist and even Marxist ideology but how to survive. Surviving consists of convincing the populations that all the dreams of freedom and national independence are vain and that they should be satisfied with eating socialism. "If they have no bread let them eat cake" is as old as Marie Antoinette. . . .

However, the dike of despair has broken. The peoples have learned that they can extract concessions from the oppressing state only through active resistance and never by begging.

The fact that the current wave of strikes in Poland is generally considered as symptomatic of the gravest crisis experienced by the country in decades is not because of riots (there have been no riots), massacres, or repressions of workers as in 1970.

The party and the authorities were forced to recognize the elected representatives of the workers, to negotiate with them and to grant concessions virtually everywhere. This is an enormous event within the context of the communist system, its history, and its ideology.

The severity of the crisis, however, should not be measured from the exclusive viewpoint of the economic situation. Naturally, the situation is not bad but catastrophic. The leaders themselves admit this more or less openly. However, despite the terrible difficulties of daily life the virtually general scarcity, very low salaries, and the general chaos prevailing in the management and system of prices, the Poles are not dying of hunger.

Obviously, some reasons for the current decline stem from the structural crisis and the inefficiency afflicting all socialist bureaucracies. Other



reasons are more specific: years of underinvestment, a huge foreign debt, and a heavy burden of military expenditures. However, this is merely the least important feature of the situation.

Actually, not only the organized democratic opposition but intellectuals close to the "establishment" have been pointing out for quite some time that the Polish crisis could not be resolved exclusively through economic measures and that its roots were essentially political.

The Social Self-Defense Committee (a group better known by the initials KOR--Workers' Defense Committee--founded in 1976 to help workers who had been persecuted after the previous strikes) has repeatedly emphasized that the total loss of credibility of the party and the government, years of unkept promises, and the total break of the possibility to communicate between the governing and the governed, make any effective economic reform impossible unless related to political change.

The KOR is the dominant and best-known organ of the antitotalitarian movement in Poland. However, recently a study group known as the DIP (Experience and Future), which includes intellectuals some of whom are party members and work within official institutions, published (unofficially, naturally) studies leading to the same conclusions. They asked themselves what could be achieved within a political system imposed upon the country (Poland being dependent on the USSR and submitted to the one-party system). Their conclusion was that without major political changes which would give the population a minimum of self-rule and the government a minimum of credibility any economic measure would be doomed to failure. Without such changes, the DIP predicts, the entire social structure could crumble.

Unfortunately, truth is a product which the Polish governing class would be the least capable of producing. It is acting in a state of panic and is afraid of everything: of its Soviet masters, and of its own workers, peasants, intellectuals, and the church. . . . The only ideological dish which the system dares to serve and which it serves almost openly is that of frightening the Poles with the ghost of fraternal armor from the East. In other areas, the system reacts according to the situation. Above all, fearing the popular anger, it is ready to raise the salaries. Under the current circumstances, however, this would mean the printing of inflationary money and the inevitable recurrence of the situation which prevailed several months ago. For the time being, a stagnation is developing in Poland which creates as much hope as a grave danger. Naturally, no one wishes a general disorder which would trigger a Soviet invasion and a widespread massacre. As Jacek Kuron, spokesman for the KOR, has noted, the Soviets would invade the country only should they reach the conclusion that the leading team should be replaced on the spot, having proved itself incapable of guaranteeing the status quo.

Acting thus, however, they would have to face a situation which would resemble more that of Afghanistan than of Czechoslovakia.

The KOR which is actively helping the strikers and which has succeeded in developing an effective communications network, is opposed to riots and street demonstrations.

The authorities have two possibilities: There is, for certain, within the party apparatus, a trend to return to repression and to violent police counteraction to the peaceful pressure of the workers. This would be a dangerous choice. The detention of several hundred activists would resolve nothing. The party should face the workers' mass which even the huge police machine would be probably incapable of crushing.

There is, however, another choice: allowing the population to openly express its grievances, tell the unpleasant truth about the situation, allow the workers to set up their own unions (the existing ones are merely a department of the official bureaucracy), abolish censorship, respect legality, stop stifling all forms of cultural expression, put an end to the ubiquitous presence and immunity of the secret police or, in a word, start a procedure which would lead to democracy. Yet, this choice not only conflicts with the dogmas, ideas, traditions and communist habits. For obvious reasons, it is a major threat to the position, the power, and the privileges of the current leadership.

In the short-term, the most likely line to be followed by the party would be to try, yet once again, to make a few vague promises in the hope of a temporary appeasement, after which it would resume control of the situation.

However, a very important change has occurred meanwhile: No longer does anyone seriously consider the party's statements, promises, or appeals. The margin of effectiveness of fraud has dramatically narrowed. This is what makes the current impasse extremely perilous.

The uncensored press is already 4 years old. Police harassment and jail have been unable to intimidate its representatives. The newspaper **ROBOTNIK** (The Worker), which is only one of the publications of the opposition, has a circulation of 20,000 copies (this is another unprecedented fact in a communist state). Not only does this press provide the population with the necessary information but it makes it intensely aware of the fact that without freedom of expression and information any change would be precarious and easily reversible.

We now note that the Polish workers would like not only to see their claims accepted but made public. The fact that Polish television, this routine tool for lies, was forced, after 6 weeks, even though reluctantly and without mentioning the forbidden word "strike" announced that something had jammed the machinery and that Edward Gierek had been forced personally to appear in front of the nation, proves not only that the authorities are aware of the gravity of the situation but also that the people's pressure, in the search for truth, is deeply resented by the leadership.

Despite a number of discouraging experiences of the socialist system, in which nothing appears to be functioning properly with the exception of the police and the army, the hope remains for a nonviolent change. It is clear, however, that even if granted with an eyedropper freedom could be achieved only through popular pressure.

Now it depends on the attitude of the leadership if the situation is not to degenerate to an uncontrollable level. Should the authorities, facing the workers who are providing admirable examples of calm and a feeling of responsibility, resort to violence, anything could happen. Poland is fed up with the reign of lies and obviously is not letting itself be appeased by meaningless phrases and promises without guarantees.

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CSO: 3100

DISSIDENT PUBLICATION REVIEW OF PPN'S FOUR-YEAR RECORD NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 19 Jul 80 p 6

[Article by Tadeusz Taski]

[Text] We are reprinting this article from the dissident Polish periodical GLOS, the latest issue of which (no 5-6/1980) came out toward the end of June 1980. GLOS is edited by Antoni Macierewicz, Piotr Naimski and Marek Tarniewski. The address of the editorial office is: c/o Antoni Macierewicz, ul. Klaudyny 34, apt. 126, Warsaw.

We are dedicating this article to the editors of the periodicals MYSL POLSKA in London and NARODOWIEC in Lens who with a crazy stubbornness continue to claim that the works published by the PPN [Poleskie Porozumienie Niepodlegosciowe; Polish Covenant for Independence] are "the handiwork of Sanacja-era Germanophiles in league with revisionist circles in the FRG."

Since May 1976 publications signed by the Polish Covenant for Independence have been appearing in the Polish emigre press in the West. The authenticity of these publications is disputed by representatives of the PPN, including the well-known emigre Polish intellectuals Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski, a prominent journalist for KULTURA published in Paris and the author of the concentration camp memoirs entitled "Another World," Maria Winowska, a Catholic journalist who before the war founded the journal VERBUM which was associated with Father Wladyslaw Kornilowicz and with Laski, Jerzy Lerski, a history professor at a university in California, and Leszek Kolakowski, a former prominent Polish Marxist. They are vouching only for the authenticity of the articles, and not for their contents, but their names lend considerable prestige to the PPN.

These publications have also appeared in Poland, having been printed by the PPN without the approval of the censors, and some of them were

reprinted in book form without the approval of the PPN by NOWA [Niezalezna Oficyna Wydawnicza-Independent Publishers Printshop].

As is apparent in light of the statements made to date by the PPN, it is not a conspiratorial organization. Perhaps the PPN should be regarded solely as a collective pseudonym for a group of people residing in Poland who, through their writings, would like to lend impetus to a public debate on the current state of the nation and on ways to reform the existing system of government and to regain national independence. This activity is aimed at rebuilding the spirit of public opinion that was destroyed by the communist government. These publications can also be used as topics for debate in young people's self-education groups. Some of them were written expressly for this purpose.

Nearly forty of these papers have been published thus far (study no 41, entitled "Arts Education in the PRL," recently reached the West--editor's note). They are published more or less once a month, and the size and frequency of these publications is gradually increasing. Some of the themes taken up by these papers include the platform of the PPN, several topical discussions of the current social and economic situation in Poland, essays on Polish-German relations, and several important articles on the political history of the interwar period.

In the inaugural publication dealing with the PPN program the authors list the key points that define their outlook, i.e., the sovereignty of the Polish state, the equality of all citizens before the law, the unique role of Catholicism in our country, Poland's tradition of tolerance, and its close ties with the traditions of Western civilization.

The authors of the program declare their goals to be the restoration of national independence, the restitution of civil liberties, the establishment of a multiparty democracy, economic prosperity, the promotion of the arts, and the opening up of Poland to the outside world.

They elaborate on these goals in the next section of the program consisting of 26 points, which can be divided into three parts:

- the reform of political institutions, i.e., the restoration of parliamentary democracy, free elections, freedom of speech and association, freedom for workers organizations and private enterprises, the independence of the judiciary, autonomy for the universities, and the recognition of the legal and political status of the Catholic Church;
- foreign policy reforms, i.e., reconciliation with the Russians, the establishment of friendly relations with the Lithuanians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians, the improvement of relations with Germany, and the establishment of closer ties with the EEC (it is fitting that we should note the distinctions made in terms of the language used to describe relations with these different nations--author's note);
- economic reforms, i.e., drawing lines of demarcation between the political and economic spheres of our national life, the free development of private



economic initiative, the return of trade and commerce to the private sector, the passage of laws guaranteeing the legal status of private-sector agriculture, worker participation in the management of business enterprises, and making it possible to buy stocks in business enterprises.

This program is poorly written, some of its points are unclear, and the authors do not suggest any ways to put it into practice. Some of their proposals are provisional, stopgap measures that are supposed to be carried out at once, while others are intended as long-term goals. In addition, and this is by no means insignificant, their descriptions of the current situation are interspersed with demands for change. Unfortunately, it also must be noted that the PPN program totally overlooks the problems of health care services, social welfare, pensions and retirement plans and says hardly anything at all about education. And even at a later date it turns out that the PPN did not see fit to take any interest in these issues.

One thing can be said in defense of the PPN. Namely, apart from the less well-known and--so it would seem--discontinued "Program 44," its program is the only one that offers such far-reaching proposals. This is very important. This program serves as a reminder of the maximum goals of the Polish people, i.e., national independence and democracy. The democracy we are talking about here is labeled by the communists as bourgeois democracy. In its subsequent activities the PPN has all but ignored the problems of political and economic reform raised in its original program. It has instead focused its attention on entirely different problems. In this connection we can distinguish two periods in the history of this organization's activity, the first of which ended in the spring of 1978. Up until that time the PPN had published three statements dealing with current political events, and in its publications it concentrated on two issues, i.e., the sovietization of Polish society and the formulation of a mini action program for the average citizen.

During the second period the PPN set itself up as a sort of think-tank, a position which it maintains to this day. Consequently, its main interests were the political history of the interwar period, Polish-German relations, and certain specialized problems of contemporary Polish life, e.g., the economic situation, alcoholism, the role of rank-and-file party members in public affairs, or the site of the massacre of a couple of thousand Polish officers from Starobielsk in 1940 by Soviet authorities.

While during the first period almost all of these publications were signed in the name of the PPN or its Discussion Groups and represented the views of all PPN members, during the latter period these tracts were signed with the pseudonyms of individuals and expressed only their personal views. It was not until recently, i.e., the spring of 1980, that publications reappeared bearing the signatures of Discussion Group members (the only exception being the study on the Germans and the Jews).

The question which asks "what is t" is geared more toward finding out what is unique about this organization than it is toward identifying those

aspects that link it with other currents of contemporary Polish political thought. The differences in the outlooks of individual groups revolve equally around shifts in emphasis (the PPN probably attaches greater importance to the issue of national independence than other groups), answers to specific political questions (e.g., how do we rate the chances for the implementation of political reforms or what should our attitude be toward German reunification), and the discussion of issues that do not receive very much attention in the press of other organizations.

The views expressed during the first period in the history of the PPN are much more indicative of its real character than those espoused in its later works. These views can be summarized as briefly as possible as follows. The political system under which we live is incorrigible. No reforms will make it any better than it already is. It has to be changed in a radical manner. But at the present time such a radical transformation is impossible, since the feasibility of such change is a function of the international political situation. And the Soviet Union does not want any changes in Eastern Europe. As the authors writing on behalf of the PPN point out, the present situation is also unfavorable in view of the fact that all of our current activities should be geared toward making preparations for the future. We must get ready for the day when we will be confronted with a more favorable alignment of political forces.

And we have a lot to do in this regard, because this system has consistently been working toward the corruption and debasement of social life in Poland. The essence of this system is not physical terror, but rather the organized deceitfulness of the state. This system of organized coverups, biased news reporting and outright lies is reshaping our culture, consciousness and standards of personal behavior. This is precisely what is meant by the term "sovietization." The PPN has paid a lot of attention to this, and its studies on this subject are among the most interesting. So, instead of trying to summarize their views in our own words, we will offer a few quotes from its publications.

"The mixture of muddleheadedness and pedantry, the combination of corruption and terror and the duet of noisy patriotism and servility toward our powerful neighbor to the East, these are the innovations of a system which owes its longevity and stability neither to physical coercion nor to the effectiveness of its rule, but rather to the fact that it appeals to the negative traits of human nature, aiding and abetting those traits, weakens the moral fiber of the individual, and rules those so weakened without hinderance or objection. Namely, it appeals to laziness, helplessness, selfishness, and cynicism. It finds a way to work its will with every private citizen by playing on his defects. Less cruel than the despotic systems of days gone by, it is incomparably more demoralizing than they ever were.

### "The Balance Sheet of Our Weaknesses"

"The average citizen is or rather is becoming apathetic, docile, forbearing, and, at the same time, bitter, hypocritical, cynical and totally incapable of thinking in political terms . . . . Embittered and dogged, he is being transformed into a model citizen of the Soviet type always chasing after any goods and services that are always in short supply. He learns these habits through the endless routine of everyday life in his place of work and at the countless meetings where he is supposed to be protesting against something or other, and so on. It is after all true that the inculcation of cynicism, hypocrisy and conformity gets under way as soon as children are in kindergarten."

### "The Paradoxes of Sovietization"

"For it is true that lies form the foundation of our system of government, that is, as a Soviet-type political system . . . . As long as things stay more or less settled in Poland, this country appears, in the eyes of an outside observer, to be a fairly normal country where things are getting better all the time, the only problem being that it is burdened by bureaucracy, material waste, and so on. If one were to ask people how they felt under these circumstances, they would be hard put to conclude that their country suffered from any lack of independence. But just let some political crisis rear its head and all Poles, from the first to the last secretary of the PZPR, from the professor to the charwoman at the university, will rush to offer the opinion that unless this crisis is solved the Soviets are going to intervene and that blood will be shed in the bargain . . . . We know how things really stand, but we will try to avoid talking about this as long as we can . . . . So, one is bound to conclude that most people would prefer not to be given any detailed knowledge about the restrictions they are really faced with when it comes to the freedom of speech and information. This ignorance is a kind of refuge, sometimes being a face-saving measure and sometimes resulting from the gloomy conviction that a knowledge of the truth leads to desperation, which in turn leads to nothing since the omnipotent evil that is our lot is not going to be eradicated anyway."

### "Thoughts About the Fatherland of Today"

The passages about sovietization quoted above were written immediately after the current opposition movement came onto the scene and they served, in my opinion, as a warning against overenthusiasm at that point in time. This of course does not lessen the importance of the views expressed in these passages, namely, the belief that Polish society exists in a state of profound demoralization and degradation.

However, it is possible to reach differing conclusions as to the duration and causes of this demoralization. We would do well to remember that we live in a country in which for almost all of the past 300 years (since the

days of Jan III Sobieski) the national government has been held in low esteem by the general populace. This government was controlled sometimes by foreigners and armies of occupation and sometimes by our own people. But even in the latter case it was a government imposed by outside forces, or its legality and sovereignty were at least open to question. There were only a few shortlived exceptions to this general rule, e.g., the government that held power during the period 1918-1926 which, under extremely difficult conditions compounded by protracted military and economic conflicts with our neighbors, succeeded in rebuilding the administrative infrastructure of the Polish state. We have no way of knowing how the Polish people would have reacted if a government had really existed that was universally accepted, and respected. The capabilities of the Polish people for exercising discipline and self-control under such circumstances were revealed recently during the visit of the Pope, the only leader who enjoys this kind of prestige.

But let's get back to the PPN. The assessment of the current situation outlined above leads it to the conclusion that it is necessary to come forward with a mini action program for our citizenry that will make it possible to start right now waging a struggle against the gradual sovietization of Polish society.

The PPN studies such as those entitled "How to Obtain Information," "The Citizen and the Security Services," "A Program for Polish Families," or "The Limits of Obedience," are attempting to show people how to emancipate themselves against the pressures applied by the security services and how to raise their children and to delineate the morally permissible limits of cooperation with the authorities (e.g., when is a person discredited by joining the party?).

I do not care for any of these commentaries and their conclusions are banal. But one still has to recognize the seriousness of the problem itself.

The PPN is the only organization that is trying to put together what Bohdan Cywinski has called a social code of conduct. This is an extremely critical issue, and by the same token it has been totally disregarded by the rest of the opposition movement.

The kinds of actions that have been advocated thus far include the setting up of citizens' committees, the publication of periodicals and books, the dissemination of these publications, giving aid to the victims of repression, the organization of trade unions and so on. These are activities for people who want to and are able to risk a great deal.

The discussion club "Experience and the Future" does nothing more than advise the government on what it ought to be doing, while on the other hand it has nothing to offer in the way of suggested activities for ordinary citizens who are not party members.



Only the Catholic Church has come up with some kind of mass program along these lines. One might mention, for example, that the "oasis movement" of Father Franciszek Blachnicki suggests that people should live without lies and fight against the plague of alcoholism. This is at least something.

So we are still looking for this miniprogram. Such a program ought to comprise precepts dealing with three spheres of human life:

- the world of work, i.e., how should we conduct ourselves at work and to what extent should we take part in trade union activities;
- childrearing in the home, including, inter alia, supplementing their knowledge of history and teaching them to be nonconformists;
- public affairs, e.g., learning how to live without lies, which in practice means that, among other things, we must boycott sham elections to the Sejm and refuse to take part in peace movement activities that are manipulated by the communists.

This program could be supplemented in practice with a broadly construed program of civic self-education for young people. Much of the work now being done by the opposition is dedicated to this purpose, even though these efforts are not talked about very much in the theoretical deliberations on the goals of the opposition movement. This is also the aim of most of the publications put out by the PPN, especially those written during its second period and devoted to topics in political history, e.g., works on Roman Dmowski and on Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

During this latter period the political views of the PPN have been much less noticeable. Apart from Jerzy Bartecki's monograph entitled "The Derailed Economy," there is only one political problem that has been talked about in the journalistic publications of the PPN. Here I am thinking about the question of Polish-German relations, which was the subject of three essays. To be sure, one may have doubts about the optimistic vision contained in these essays concerning the possibility of a Polish-German reconciliation. But in my opinion one cannot have any doubts about the validity of the basic premise advanced in these essays, namely, that the attainment of national independence for Poland is tied in many ways to the reunification of Germany. This unwelcome truth ought to be the subject of dispassionate debate, but instead it is greeted with heated, indignant and emotional reactions both at home and in the exile community abroad, both in the government and among the public at large. The current Central Committee secretary in charge of foreign policy affairs went so far as to personally hurl insults at the PPN [for uttering this truth] in an article published in the journal SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE.

It is sad that such an enormous gap exists between reasoned political debate and emotional attitudes concerning Germany. The inherent difficulties associated with conducting a debate on this issue are related to the absence of a political culture in our country. It is rather a pity that



among all of the things that the PPN has accomplished thus far it has never paid the slightest attention to this issue. The PPN has concerned itself exclusively with political goals, without taking any interest at all in how a democracy really works or in the fostering of a democratic political culture which makes it possible for a democracy to work.

In direct contrast to the position of the PPN there is Marcin Krol's book entitled "Style uprawiania polityki,"\* [Styles of Political Action] which is concerned solely with the modes of political action and thought, and the author's allusions to specific realities of life in contemporary Poland are so discreet that the uninformed reader might regard this book as being a mere anthology of rightminded generalities. There is a lot more than that could be said to enlarge upon and substantiate this judgement. And so we are left with a political theory viewed as some kind of strategic game that confines the rules and methods of political action to one compartment, Poland's maximum political goals, i.e., independence and democracy, to another compartment, and reserves yet another compartment for such concrete and short-term goals as independent trade unions and a free press which are being realized in practice by an active opposition movement. What we need is a vision that embraces all of these things at once. A vision that unifies thought and action. On this sad note let us end this lament.

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\* The actual title is "Style politycznego myslenia," Libella, Paris, 1979, 124 pp (note by the editors of TYDZIEN POLSKI)

11813  
CSO: 2600

## DEFENSE MINISTER STRESSES CAPABILITY TO REPEL AGGRESSORS

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 80 pp 3-19

[Article by Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense: "The Victory Against Fascism in World War II--A Result of the Struggle of Peoples for Freedom, Independence and Social Progress"]

[Excerpts] Carrying on the work of building a multilaterally developed socialist society, the Romanian Communist Party devotes all its attention to the strengthening of the defense capability of the country, to the proper equipping and training of the armed forces, to the training of the patriotic guards, of the military formations of the youth and of the entire people. In the spirit of the principles of foreign policy of the party and state, our armed forces are strengthening relations with the armed forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact and with the armed forces of the other socialist countries and of other friendly countries, always ready to fulfill their obligations to their own people and to the allies of Romania.

In accordance with our party's views on the defense of the country, in the case of aggression by a foreign state or any situation which would affect, in any way, the sovereignty and integrity of the Socialist Republic of Romania, national defense would be carried out unceasingly, in all conditions, in forms appropriate to the circumstances, including the form of armed popular resistance, until the invader is driven out. As a result, the war which our country would be obliged to wage in the case of possible aggression would place the invader, from the very beginning, face to face with the entire people who would defend, in an organized manner, their own land, their own property, and their own destinies. It would mean a total response--military, political, ideological and diplomatic--carried out on the national territory, an action in which not only the armed forces but also the entire people risen up in struggle against the invading army, will be involved in a united effort.

The unity of the army and the people is reflected in the passionate activity of the military personnel for the fulfillment, with superior results, of the plan for the combat and political training of units and large units, in accordance with the current level of the technical equipping of the armed forces and with the demands made by the realities of the modern battlefield and our party's views of the defense of the country.

## WW II PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY OF ROMANIAN COMMUNISTS IN USSR RECALLED

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 80, pp 108-125

[Article by Gheorghe Unc and Vladimir Zaharescu: "Romanian Propaganda From the Emigres During World War II"]

[Excerpts] The unitary character of Romanian anti-Hitler propaganda was demonstrated both in the propaganda organized by the internal resistance and in that of the emigres. Indeed, an examination of the documents and materials characteristic of this propaganda prove, without a shadow of a doubt, that the great themes treated, corresponding to the major objectives of the movement for the liberation of the Romanian people--the assurance of the independence and sovereignty of the country, the overthrow of the Antonescu government, the break with Hitler's Germany and the withdrawal of the country from the war against the Allies, the abrogation of the Hitlerite Diktat of Vienna by the liberation of the northern part of Transylvania, the installation of a democratic regime--were common to the propaganda of the Resistance within the country and the propaganda carried out outside the country, by large collectives of anti-fascist emigres or by political personalities, Romanian diplomats, cultural figures, etc. This fact permits us to state that the propaganda from the emigres represented, in essence, an extension of the propaganda in the country, a component part of Romanian anti-Hitler propaganda, in general.

In the framework of this unitary character, propaganda from the emigres, naturally, had a number of specific characteristics compared to the propaganda within the country, because of the different conditions under which it was carried on, the different methods which it used, and the milieu to which it was addressed. Emigre propaganda had special characteristics because of the country in which it was carried on. It is easy to understand, for example, the difference between conditions in France, where the propaganda of the Resistance was carried on clandestinely, and conditions in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, especially the USSR, where this propaganda, along with being legal and encouraged, enjoyed support given by material means of propaganda.

A particularly important distinctive characteristic of Romanian anti-Hitler propaganda in the USSR was the fact that, organized initially by the group

of Romanian Communists who had emigrated there--including such militants as Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Dumitru Petrescu, Gheorghe Stoica, Boris Stefanov, Leonte Rautu, Mihai Burca, Petre Borila, Valter Roman, Dumitru Coliu, Vanda Nicolschi and others--it soon took on new dimensions, becoming a form for the manifestation and activity of the broad anti-Hitler movement which was produced in the ranks of imprisoned Romanian soldiers and officers. The propaganda of the Romanian anti-fascists in the USSR had a multifunctional and multidirectional character, addressing itself to public opinion in the country, to Romanian troops at the front, and to the masses of Romanian prisoners of war.

In order to address themselves directly to public opinion in the country and to the Romanian armed forces, Romanian anti-fascist propaganda on the territory of the USSR used: "Romania Libera" [Free Romania] radio station; Romanian-language broadcasts of Radio Moscow, for which a number of Romanian Communists were working; the dissemination in the ranks of the Romanian units at the front--in particular, by means of Soviet aircraft--of manifestos, letters and appeals from imprisoned Romanian soldiers and officers to their comrades in the respective units, brochures, etc, and well as radio broadcasts to the front.

The "Free Romania" radio station made a remarkable effort to expose to public opinion within the country the character of some measures adopted by the Antonescu government and the policy of Hitlerite Germany toward Romania and to inform the public on sabotage actions of the Hitler war machine, on the economic situation, on the actions of the repressive apparatus, of the dictatorship, etc. The maintenance, as much as possible, of contact with the realities in the country was assured by a permanent radio monitoring service organized within the editorial staff of the "Free Romania" station; studying the press of the country, which was received, with inevitable delays, through neutral countries; by means of information received from Romanian prisoners and through other sources of information. Thus, "Free Romania," just like the clandestine patriotic press in the country, was able to inform its listeners about some domestic situations and events which were not revealed by the official organs of information in the country, including: the agitation in the ranks of Romanian military units, the position adopted by some high-ranking Romanian officers who opposed the continuation of the use of the Romanian armed forces on the anti-Soviet front, and attempts, which were taking form even at the level of the higher command, to salvage the Romanian armed forces and to maintain their strength, for a struggle for the liberation of the territory taken from Romania by the Diktat of Vienna.

As we said, a group of Romanian Communist emigres worked on the Romanian-language broadcasts of Radio Moscow. This station was the official spokesman of the Soviet Government and its broadcasts, in contrast to those of "Free Romania," did not belong, directly, to what we call Romanian emigre propaganda. However, the activity of this group and the content of many of its broadcasts, especially when they rebroadcast material from the Romanian

Resistance, directly contributed to the popularization of the great themes of anti-Hitler propaganda within the country and abroad.

An important aspect--which has not been studied sufficient--of the activity of Romanian emigres in different countries was that of informing public opinion and political governmental circles in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition of the real vital goals of the Romanian people, of the reasons for the unnatural presence of Romania on the German side in the war and winning and developing sympathy for the cause of the Romanian people. In this regard, both the public propaganda action and the actions undertaken directly in leadership circles of the respective countries were important. Of special importance in this regard was the clear and firm formulation by the Romanian Communist emigre community in the USSR, by other anti-fascist Romanians present there, and by a broad movement of Romanian prisoners of the fundamental interests and objectives of the Romanian people. The fundamental interests of Romania were consistently upheld by cadres of the Romanian Communist Party through the contacts which they had with various activists and leadership cadres of the CPSU and the Soviet state. For example, having in mind the venting, by different circles, of some so-called "solutions" for the "Transylvanian problem" contravening the national interests of Romania and the utilization in support of these "solutions" of the argument of the participation of the Antonescu regime in the anti-Soviet war, the militant Communist Valter Roman, who was directly responsible for the "Free Romania" radio station in Moscow, wrote a letter, on 24 July 1944, to M. M. Litvinov, assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, expressing the viewpoint of the RCP, stressing that it was "the only just one, in accordance with historic truth." Combatting arguments such as the one mentioned above, he said in his letter that "in addition to these 'solutions' which do not resolve the problem, there is, naturally, the viewpoint maintained by the Romanian Communist Party, for which the 'Free Romania' radio station has fought during the entire time of the war--namely, the solution of the problem of Transylvania means the abrogation of the 'arbitration' of Vienna (August 1940) and the reintegration of Northern Transylvania in Romania."

"Many arguments can be invoked in favor of this thesis but the most important one, it seems to me, is the argument of history. Transylvania belongs to Romania since the majority of the population of this historic region has been and is Romanian, since the Romanian people have struggled for centuries for the unification of Transylvania with Romania, a unification which was achieved in December 1918. These are realities which, if they are not taken into consideration, can only complicate the evolution of things (including the final phase of the war), and the future establishment of peace in this corner of Europe. The participation of Romania in the aggression against the Soviet Union is an incontestable fact but it would not be rational nor just to make an entire people suffer for this."



LAW ON MILITARY SERVICE REQUIREMENT

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 36, 27 Jun 80 pp 1169-1182

[Law adopted by the SFRY Assembly in a session of the Federal Chamber on 26 June 1980]

[Text] I. General Provisions

Article 1

The military service requirement is an integral part of the rights and duties of citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter referred to as "the SFRY") to defend the country and to preserve its freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the social system of the SFRY as established in the SFRY Constitution.

In fulfillment of their military service requirement SFRY citizens prepare, train and organize for conducting armed combat, for performing other duties in the armed forces of the SFRY (hereafter referred to as "the armed forces") and for participation in other forms of nationwide resistance to an enemy in case of aggression or other danger to the country.

Article 2

The military service requirement shall be fulfilled in peacetime and in wartime by all able-bodied citizens of the SFRY under the conditions prescribed by this law. Organizations of associated labor, local communities, other self-managed organizations and communities, sociopolitical and public organizations, and sociopolitical communities and their bodies and agencies shall be responsible and diligent about fulfillment of the military service requirement.

Article 3

Competent bodies and agencies in the republic or autonomous province, within the limits of their rights and duties as set forth in the constitution and law, shall organize and ensure fulfillment of the military service requirement in the jurisdiction of the respective sociopolitical community, shall

coordinate its performance with the exercise of other rights and fulfillment of other duties in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection and shall in that connection take the necessary steps and cooperate with the competent military authorities.

Aside from the functions referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the competent opstina agency shall keep military records on persons subject to military service and shall also perform other tasks related to the keeping of the military records prescribed by this law

#### Article 4

The competent authorities of the military district and other military authorities shall coordinate their plans for recruitment and for manning the armed forces with the competent authorities of the sociopolitical communities and shall collaborate with them in adopting and carrying out plans and measures and also in performing other functions and tasks related to fulfillment of the military service requirement.

The authority of the military district or other military authority designated by the federal secretary for national defense may communicate directly with the opstina agency competent for military service affairs for the sake of direct scrutiny of fulfillment of plans for recruitment and manning of the armed forces and other plans for performance of the military service requirement and also of performance of functions related to those plans.

#### Article 5

The military service requirement shall consist of the requirement of registration and recruitment, the requirement to serve the prescribed period of military service and the requirement to serve in the reserves.

Under the conditions set forth in this law the military service requirement shall also embrace the military training of women.

Under the conditions prescribed by this law all citizens of the SFRY are subject to the obligation of registration and recruitment, and citizens of the SFRY fit for military service are subject to the requirement of serving the prescribed period of military service and the requirement of serving in the reserves.

#### Article 6

Women shall not be subject to recruitment nor to the requirement of serving the prescribed period of military service.

In peacetime women who enroll voluntarily may be called up for military training in accordance with the needs of manning the armed forces, and

women who under the provisions of this law are subject to the military service requirement (hereafter referred to as "women subject to military service")--may be called up for military exercises in the armed forces in order to acquire the necessary military knowledge and to train for duties in wartime.

#### Article 7

An individual subject to the military service requirement shall be referred to as a person subject to military service (vojni obveznik). During the life of the military service requirement the person subject to military service shall be one of the following:

- 1) registrant--during the time of the obligation of registration and recruitment;
- 2) serviceman--during the period of required military service or service-woman--during voluntary military training in the armed forces;
- 3) reservist, reserve noncommissioned officer, reserve commissioned officer, or reserve military employee, and woman reservist, reserve noncommissioned woman officer, reserve commissioned woman officer or reserve woman military employee (hereafter referred to as "person in the reserves") during the life of the requirement to serve in the reserves of the armed forces.

For the purpose of this law the term "serviceman" covers both soldiers and sailors.

#### Article 8

The military service requirement shall terminate as follows:

- 1) when the person subject to military service reaches the age set by this law (Article 50);
- 2) if the person subject to military service is classified as unfit for military service;
- 3) if the person subject to military service ceases to be a citizen of the SFRY.

#### Article 9

A citizen of the SFRY whose military service requirement has terminated under the provision of Article 8, Subparagraph 2, of this law shall be subject to a review examination to check his fitness for military service.

The review examination referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be conducted if the citizen of the SFRY classified as unfit for military service has not reached age 50.

An individual as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article who in the review examination is classified as fit for military service or fit for limited military service shall become a person subject to military service and shall be subject to the requirement of serving the prescribed period of military service to the end of the calendar year in which he reaches the age of 27, and if that calendar year has expired, he shall be subject to the obligation of serving in the reserves.

The decision on reserve examinations of all individuals born in one or more years may be taken by the Federal Executive Council, and the decision pertaining to individuals may be made by the federal secretary for national defense or officer whom he authorizes.

#### Article 10

The requirement to serve the prescribed period of military service shall be fulfilled in the Yugoslav People's Army, and the requirement to serve in the reserves shall be fulfilled in the Yugoslav People's Army and in territorial defense.

#### Article 11

A person subject to military service becomes a military person upon induction into a unit or institution of the armed forces (hereafter referred to as "military unit or military institution"), and ceases to be a military person upon discharge from the military unit or military institution. While fulfilling his military obligation on the summons of the competent authority the person subject to military service shall have the same status as a military person with respect to rights and duties, specifically as follows:

- 1) from departure from his residence to return to his residence in the place of his permanent residence or temporary residence if he has reported his temporary residence in the context of Article 74, Paragraph 2, of this law;
- 2) if he is residing abroad: on arrival--from the SFRY border to the place in which he is to report to the competent authority, and on his departure--from the place in which he has discharged the military obligation for which he was summoned to the border of the SFRY.

## II. The Requirement of Registration and Recruitment

### Article 12

The requirement of registration and recruitment consists of the duty to respond to a general or individual call and to carry out the enactments and orders of the competent bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities, authorities of military districts and other military authorities and other government agencies in connection with enrollment in military records, medical and other examinations and tests, recruitment and induction to serve the prescribed military service.

The requirement of registration and recruitment commences at the beginning of the calendar year in which the citizen of the SFRY reaches age 17 and lasts until induction to serve prescribed military service or until the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27 or until termination of the military service requirement under the provisions of Article 8, Subparagraphs 2 or 3, of this law.

### Article 13

So long as the requirement of registration and recruitment lasts, the registrant is subject to the following:

- 1) medical and other examinations and psychological tests to ascertain his fitness for military service;
- 2) recruitment;
- 3) induction for prescribed military service;
- 4) other obligations prescribed by this law.

### Article 14

The examinations and tests referred to in Article 13, Subparagraph 1, of this law must be performed at the request of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community or authority of the military district by military medical institutions and organizations of associated labor in the health field. Mutual rights and obligations related to the performance of these examinations and tests shall be set forth in a contract.

### Article 15

Recruitment shall take place in the calendar year in which the registrant reaches age 18.

At his request the registrant may be recruited in the calendar year in which he reaches age 17.



In case of an immediate danger of war or state of war, the SRN state Presidency may order registration and recruitment of persons who have reached age 16.

#### Article 16

Recruitment shall be done by recruitment commissions.

Recruitment commissions shall be established by the competent authorities of military districts.

The recruitment commission shall be made up of designated military personnel and civilians, one member of which must be a representative of the assembly of the sociopolitical community and another member a physician. Other persons may also be members of the recruitment commission if it is so provided by enactment of the republic or autonomous province.

The chairman of the recruitment commission shall be a member of the military.

Administrative and technical and other preparations related to recruitment and the necessary space for this purpose shall be provided for by the competent agency of the sociopolitical community, and if recruitment is taking place in a military institution--by the authority of the military district as well.

#### Article 17

During recruitment the registrant's fitness for military service shall be evaluated and the arm or service in which he is to do the prescribed period of military service shall be assigned.

The recruitment commission shall enter its evaluation of the registrant's fitness for military service and the arm or service assigned him in his military book.

#### Article 18

The recruitment commission shall evaluate the fitness of each registrant for military service on the basis of the findings of medical and other examinations and psychological tests performed previously in military medical institutions or in organizations of associated labor in the health field and on the basis of the medical examination performed at the time of recruitment.

The recruitment commission shall assign one of the following classifications:

- 1) fit for military service;

- 2) fit for limited military service;
- 3) temporarily unfit for military service;
- 4) unfit for military service.

#### Article 19

The arm or service assigned at the time of recruitment may in exceptional cases be altered by the recruitment commission on the following grounds: replenishment of the Yugoslav People's Army, a change in the registrant's state of health, specialized training acquired subsequently or a change in his occupation.

#### Article 20

A registrant found temporarily unfit for military service shall be subject to subsequent recruitment until the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 26.

In each recruitment temporary unfitness may be assigned to last from 1 to 4 years, provided that the time of temporary unfitness does not extend beyond the end of the calendar year in which the registrant reaches age 26.

The recruitment commission shall fix the duration of the registrant's temporary unfitness and the time of his next recruitment.

A registrant may be classified as temporarily unfit for military service only twice. At the time of the third recruitment, the recruitment commission shall assign a final classification concerning his fitness for military service.

A registrant may not be classified temporarily unfit for military service in the calendar year in which he reaches age 26.

#### Article 21

The Federal Executive Council shall issue regulations on standards pertaining to evaluation of the medical fitness for military service of persons subject to military service.

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue the following regulations: on medical and other examinations and tests of persons subject to military service in order to ascertain fitness for military service and regulations on establishment and proceedings of recruitment commissions and on conditions for assignment of arms and services in which registrants shall do their prescribed military service.

### **III. Requirement To Do the Prescribed Period of Military Service**

#### **Article 22**

The prescribed period of military service shall be 15 months.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, the prescribed period of military service for a sole breadwinner of a family shall be 12 months.

#### **Article 23**

For the purpose of this law "sole breadwinner of a family" means a registrant or serviceman whose family of which he is a member and with which he lives in the same household or which he is required to maintain has no other member capable of gainful employment and whose income from agriculture or other income does not exceed the amount fixed by the Federal Executive Council.

The following are regarded as members of the family as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article: spouse, children (legitimate and illegitimate, adopted children, stepchildren, and orphans whose support has been undertaken), parents (father, mother, stepfather, stepmother), adoptive parent, grandfather, grandmother, great-grandfather and great-grandmother and brothers and sisters of the registrant or serviceman.

Members of the registrant's or serviceman's family shall be regarded as unfit for gainful employment if at the time when the application is submitted and the decision made on the application or recognition of the status of sole breadwinner of a family:

- 1) they had not reached age 18 or had reached age 18 but were attending school regularly, as follows: up to age 20--if they are attending schools for secondary vocational education or up to age 21--if they are attending a secondary maritime school, and up to age 23 if they are attending a junior postsecondary school, or up to age 25 if they are attending a university school or other senior postsecondary school;
- 2) male members of the family older than age 60, female members of the family older than age 55, and younger members of the family if they have been declared unfit for gainful employment permanently or for more than 2 years;
- 3) mother--if she has one or more children under age 7, or another member of the family keeping and raising such child if it does not have a mother or if its mother does not live in the same household.

Changes in the household of the family referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article which have occurred through the alienation of property and whereby conditions obtain for recognition of the status of sole breadwinner of the

family shall be taken into account if they took place 1 year before the registrant was called up to serve the prescribed military service.

#### Article 24

Upon induction to serve in a unit or institution of the Yugoslav People's Army the registrant becomes a serviceman, and he serves the prescribed period of military service from that date.

#### Article 25

Registrants classified as fit for military service or fit for limited military service shall as a rule be inducted in the year in which they reach age 19. A registrant who in that year does not graduate from a secondary vocational school or other secondary school which he is attending shall be inducted when he completes that school, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 21.

A registrant who is enrolled at the university or another senior or junior postsecondary school in the SFRY shall be inducted in the calendar year in which he finished the secondary vocational school or other secondary school if he has reached age 18.

The registrant referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall be inducted to serve his prescribed period of military service in two parts, as follows: the first part of the prescribed period, lasting 12 months, in the month of October after he has graduated from secondary school, and for the second part of the required service, lasting 6 months, after he has graduated from the university or other junior or senior postsecondary school or after he has ceased to be a student, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 26. A postsecondary student who by the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 23 has not passed all the examinations prescribed for the first 2 years at the university or other junior or senior postsecondary school in which he continued studies after serving the first part of his military service shall also be inducted to serve the second portion of his military service.

A registrant who is enrolled at the university or other junior or senior postsecondary school and who has not been inducted for military service under the provisions of Paragraph 3 of this article because he had not reached age 18 shall be inducted to serve the first part of his prescribed service in the month of October of the next calendar year.

A registrant who himself requests to be inducted to do his military service or to complete his military service shall be inducted within 3 months from the date when he so requests, if in that year he reaches age 18.

A registrant who returns to the country after having been granted permission for temporary residence abroad lasting longer than 1 year and

requesting to be inducted to serve his prescribed military service shall be inducted within 30 days from the date when he files application if he reaches age 18 in that year.

During a state of war or in case of an immediate danger of war the SFRY State Presidency may order that registrants who have reached age 18 also be inducted to do the prescribed period of military service.

#### Article 26

A registrant may be inducted to serve the prescribed period of military service up until the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27.

A registrant who has not been inducted by the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27 and who is classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service shall be transferred to the reserves.

#### Article 27

Registrants who have the appropriate schooling and who meet the other conditions prescribed for selection of cadets for reserve officers' schools may serve their period of prescribed military service in a reserve officers' school of an arm or service if they have been found fit for military service and in a reserve officers' school of a service if they have been classified fit for limited military service.

The nomination of registrants for cadets of reserve officers' schools shall be made by the competent body or agency of the sociopolitical community, and the registrants shall be chosen by a commission established by the competent authority of the military district or other military authority designated by the federal secretary for national defense.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 2 of this article, a serviceman may be assigned to serve the remainder of his required military service in a reserve officers' school on recommendation of a regimental commander or equivalent or higher officer, if the serviceman fulfills the conditions stated in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on qualifying conditions and procedure for selection of cadets of reserve officers' schools from among registrants.

#### Article 28

The federal secretary for national defense shall make the decision on acceptance for induction of a citizen of the SFRY who resides abroad permanently and has applied to do his military service.



## Article 29

The following shall not be inducted to do military service:

- 1) a registrant convicted under a final verdict to a reformatory sentence or sentenced without suspension to a prison sentence for a crime--until he has served the sentence or been paroled;
- 2) a registrant against whom an institutional reformatory measure or preventive measure of psychiatric treatment and commitment in a medical institution has been invoked--so long as the measure invoked shall last;
- 3) a registrant against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted for a crime automatically prosecuted--until proceedings have been terminated under a final decision.

Registrants who on the grounds enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article are not inducted to do military service shall be inducted to serve or complete their period of military service after serving their sentence, after parole, after the reformatory measure or preventive measure has been withdrawn, or after criminal proceedings have been finally terminated, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which they reach age 27.

Persons given a reformatory sentence or unsuspended prison sentence for a crime may in time of war or in a case of immediate danger of war be inducted to do military service if the serving of their sentence has been postponed.

## Article 30

The following are exempted from the requirement to do military service:

- 1) a person classified unfit for military service;
- 2) a person who acquires citizenship in the SFRY by naturalization or on the basis of international treaties if in the country of which he was a citizen he has done his military service or if he has reached age 27;
- 3) a person who has acquired the status of active military personnel under the service regulations in the armed forces;
- 4) a person who has graduated from a law enforcement school lasting at least 2 years and has been a policeman for at least 3 years.

## Article 31

Military service shall be postponed at the registrant's request as follows:

1) for the sole breadwinner of a family--so long as he is the sole breadwinner, but no later than the end of November of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27;

2) for half, or a bare majority if their number is odd, of registrants who are members of a single household if one or more members of that household are being inducted or are already doing military service--until that member or the other half of the members of that household complete their military service or are discharged for other reasons from the Yugoslav People's Army, but no later than the end of November of the calendar year in which they reach age 27;

3) if because of death or serious illness in the family or because of a natural disaster the registrant's family would suffer hardship because of his induction to do military service--so long as such grounds exist, but no longer than 1 year.

The military service of the registrant referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1 and 2, of this article shall be postponed until the next year if the application for postponement of military service and the necessary evidence are submitted to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community within a period of 8 days from the date of receipt of the notice or summons for induction to do military service.

A registrant who under the provisions of this law exercises the right to postpone his military service must inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of a change occurring causing him to lose that right within 8 days from the date when such change occurred.

#### Article 32

As an exception and at the registrant's request military service may be postponed a maximum of 1 year for warranted family or other reasons in accordance with regulations issued by the federal secretary for national defense.

#### Article 33

A serviceman's military service shall be interrupted in the following cases:

1) if the serviceman has been inducted to do his military service in two parts (Article 25, Paragraphs 2-4)--when he has served 12 months, unless no later than 30 days before expiration of his period of service he declares his desire to serve his period of military service without interruption;

2) if while doing his military service a serviceman is classified temporarily unfit for military service;

3) if while doing his military service a serviceman has been convicted by a military court and sentenced under a final verdict to a reformatory or unsuspended prison sentence--until he serves the sentence or is paroled;

4) if while doing his military service the serviceman has been convicted by another court and under a final verdict given an unsuspended prison sentence of more than 6 months or a reformatory sentence--until he serves the sentence or is paroled;

5) if criminal proceedings are instituted against a serviceman while doing his military service for a crime automatically prosecuted which was committed before his induction, if the sentence envisaged for that crime is more than 3 years.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 4, of this article, military service shall not be interrupted if a serviceman has been convicted under a final verdict to a reformatory sentence of less than 2 years or unsuspended prison sentence of less than 2 years if more than 6 months remain to the end of his period of military service.

#### Article 34

A serviceman's military service may be interrupted at his request because of death or serious illness in the family or because of a natural disaster if his absence could cause hardship for his family--so long as those grounds exist, but no longer than 1 year.

#### Article 35

The military service of a serviceman classified as temporarily unfit for military service may be interrupted only once. A serviceman whose period of military service has had to be interrupted a second time because he has been classified temporarily unfit for military service shall be transferred to the reserves regardless of the time he has spent doing military service. Such individuals shall be subject to another medical examination to evaluate his fitness to serve in the reserves.

#### Article 36

An individual whose period of military service has been interrupted on the grounds enumerated in Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 2-5, or Article 34 of this law, and who has not met his military service requirement in the context of Article 37 of this law, again becomes a registrant and is subject to the obligations prescribed by this law for registrants.

A person whose period of military service has been interrupted on the grounds enumerated in Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 3-5, of this law shall be inducted to serve the remainder of his period of military service during the year in which he was released or paroled from prison or in

which criminal proceedings were terminated by final court decision, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27.

A person whose period of military service has been interrupted under the provision of Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of this law shall bear all the rights and duties of a person in the reserves until the date of his induction to serve the second portion of his period of military service.

#### Article 37

A person whose period of military service has been interrupted under Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, or Article 34 of this law shall not be inducted to serve the remainder of his period of military service if less than 60 days of that period remains. This individual shall be transferred to the reserves as of the date when his period of military service is interrupted.

#### Article 38

A serviceman classified unfit for military service while doing his period of military service shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army. This individual may be called up to serve the remainder of his military service or transferred to the reserves under the conditions prescribed by the provisions of Article 9 of this law.

#### Article 39

The time which a military school cadet spends in the military school shall be credited against his period of military service.

The first 2 years of schooling in a military school shall not be credited to the period of military service in the case of a military school cadet whose schooling has been interrupted regardless of the reason.

#### Article 40

The following time shall not be credited to a serviceman's period of military service:

1) time spent serving disciplinary measures in the guardhouse or time spent serving a prison sentence which the competent military officer, under the provisions concerning military discipline, has pronounced for a total length of more than 10 days;

2) time spent being treated or on sick leave for an injury or other disability caused with the intention of avoiding military service or of being assigned to an easier duty, if this has been established by a final verdict of a military court;

3) time spent absent without leave or in flight from the Yugoslav People's Army which has lasted at least 24 hours continuously;

4) time spent in custody when custody is ordered in criminal proceedings if the final verdict credits that time to the sentence pronounced for a crime.

#### Article 41

When an individual does his period of military service, he is discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army and becomes a reservist or, under the conditions prescribed by the law regulating service in the armed forces, a reserve noncommissioned officer or reserve commissioned officer.

A serviceman who at the end of his period of military service uses leave to which he is entitled or leave granted him shall be discharged as many days earlier from the Yugoslav People's Army as the length of the leave to which he is entitled or which he has been granted.

#### Article 42

If the interests of national defense and the combat readiness of the Yugoslav People's Army so allow, the period of military service referred to in Article 22 of this law may be shortened as much as 3 months.

The existence of the conditions stated in Paragraph 1 of this article, and also the ages and groups of servicemen to whom the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article shall be applied, shall be set forth by the SFRY State Presidency.

Under the conditions stated in Paragraph 1 of this article the federal secretary for national defense may as an exception order certain groups of servicemen to be discharged from their period of military service before expiration of the period of time stated in Article 22 of this law, but no earlier than 30 days before expiration of that period.

The individuals referred to in Paragraphs 1-3 of this article shall be transferred to the reserves as of the date of discharge from the Yugoslav People's Army.

The enactment shortening the period of military service or discharging certain groups of servicemen as referred to in Paragraphs 1-3 of this article may provide that servicemen who have reported late to do their military service without good cause or who during their period of military service were absent without leave from their unit or from the Yugoslav People's Army, if the lateness or absence without leave lasted at least 24 hours, shall not be discharged at the same time with other servicemen in that group.



#### Article 43

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: the time and manner of induction of registrants to do their military service; the procedure for ascertaining the status of sole breadwinner of a family; postponement and interruption of the period of military service and the discharge of servicemen from the Yugoslav People's Army.

#### IV. Military Training of Women

#### Article 44

The military training of women who volunteer shall be organized and conducted in the Yugoslav People's Army and in territorial defense. This training may last from 2 months to 6 months, depending on the duties for which they are being trained.

A woman may be called up for the military training referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article in the calendar year in which she reaches age 19 and until the end of the calendar year in which she reaches age 27, if she is fit for military service.

Neither a pregnant woman nor a woman who has a child younger than age 7 shall be called up for military training.

A woman's fitness for military service shall be ascertained by a medical commission established by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province according to the criteria set forth for evaluation of the fitness for military service of persons subject to military service.

#### Article 45

The military training of women shall be planned and organized in accordance with the needs of manning the armed forces and the capabilities of conducting that training in military units and military institutions.

The military training of women shall be organized and conducted for the sake of acquiring the necessary military knowledge and skills and to train them for their duties in the armed forces.

#### Article 46

A woman who has been inducted into a military unit or military institution for military training shall be regarded as a military person from the date of induction in that unit or institution until the date of discharge from the military unit or military institution, and during that time shall wear a military uniform, shall be subject to military discipline, and shall bear all the other rights and obligations prescribed for servicemen.

#### Article 47

A woman who has been called up for military training and who has been inducted into a military unit or military institution must undergo training and must spend in military training the time envisaged by the military training syllabus and program.

A woman who has begun military training may be released from that training because of illness or for other good cause.

#### Article 48

The Federal Executive Council shall issue regulations on evaluation of the fitness of women for military service.

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: planning and organization military training of women; induction of women for military training and other matters important to the actual organization and conduct of this training.

#### V. Requirement To Serve in the Reserves

#### Article 49

The following persons subject to military service are subject to the requirement of serving in the reserves of the armed forces:

- 1) those who have done their military service;
- 2) those who under the provisions of this law have met the requirement of doing their military service in some other way;
- 3) women subject to military service.

All women subject to military service shall be subject to the requirement of serving in the reserves of territorial defense under conditions prescribed by this law, and women subject to military service who have training for performing specialized and technical duties in the Yugoslav People's Army and women subject to military service who have been trained in peacetime for wartime duties in the armed forces shall be subject to the requirement of serving in the reserves of the Yugoslav People's Army.

#### Article 50

For men the requirement of serving in the reserves commences as of the date of discharge from their period of prescribed military service or from the date when the requirement to do military service was met in some other way and shall last until the end of the calendar year in which the man subject to military service reaches age 60.

For women the requirement of serving in the reserves commences at the beginning of the calendar year in which they reach age 19 and lasts until the end of the calendar year in which they reach age 50.

In case of an immediate danger of war or during a state of war the SFRY State Presidency may extend the duration of the requirement of serving in the reserves for reserve officers and reserve military employees even beyond the ages prescribed under the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article.

#### Article 51

The requirement of serving in the reserves of the armed forces shall be met by the participation of reservists in military exercises, course and other forms of military training and by performance of other duties prescribed by this law, and in wartime or in case of an immediate danger of war or other danger to the country it shall be met by induction into the armed forces or by performance of specified military duties.

Military exercises, courses and other forms of military training which are regarded as military exercises (hereafter referred to as "military exercises") may not total more than the following: up to 6 months for reserve enlisted men, reserve noncommissioned officers and reserve military employees, up to 12 months for reserve commissioned officers, and up to 6 months for all women subject to military service.

#### Article 52

As a rule military exercises shall be organized and conducted in military units or military institutions.

The time which individuals in the reserves spend in courses and other forms of professional military training conducted in a program of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers and other organizations designated by the federal secretary for national defense shall be credited to performance of military exercises if such training has been planned, organized and overseen by an authority of the Yugoslav People's Army or territorial defense staff and if such training is conducted in response to a summons of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

Persons in the reserves must answer a call to attend training referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

The time which individuals in the reserves spend as training instructors for defense and protection shall be credited to performance of military exercises if remuneration is not received for that work.

Eight hours spent in a course or training as referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article or 8 hours of work as a training instructor for defense and

protection performed in the manner prescribed in Paragraph 4 of this article shall be counted as 1 day of military exercises.

The exercises of persons in the reserves whose wartime assignment is outside the armed forces shall be regarded as military exercises under the provisions of this law if those persons participate in exercises in the duties given them as a wartime assignment by the competent body of the socio-political community.

#### Article 53

Persons subject to military service who have done their military service and who have a wartime assignment in the police may be called up into police units for military exercises.

The official who heads the federal, republic or provincial agency competent for internal affairs shall call up the persons subject to military service referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article for military exercises in police units, shall rule on their applications for postponement of military exercises and shall decide other matters related to the conduct of such exercises.

Military exercises conducted in police units shall be equivalent under this law with military exercises in military units or military institutions.

#### Article 54

Male reservists may be called up for military exercises until they reach the age of 55, and women may be called up until they reach the age of 45.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, the following shall not be called up for military exercises: pregnant women, a woman whose spouse has been called up for military service; a widow, divorcee or unmarried woman who has a child younger than 15, and a woman whose spouse has not been called up for military service if she has a child younger than 10.

A reservist may be called up for military exercises lasting no more than 2 months during any one year.

When the interests of national defense so require, the SFRY State Presidency may order that the following be called up for military exercises:

1) reservists who have already completed military exercises amounting to the total prescribed by the provisions of Paragraph 3 of this article and Article 51, Paragraph 2, of this law;

2) reservists who have reached the ages prescribed in Paragraph 1 of this article.

When the interests of national defense so require, the SFRY State Presidency may order that reservists be detained for military exercises immediately after they have done their military service.

#### Article 55

A reservist's participation in military exercises shall be postponed at his request on the following grounds:

- 1) if he is ill--until the first callup following his recovery;
- 2) if two or more members of his household are being called up at the same time or if some of them are already on military exercises or doing their military service--until one member or the other half of the members of the household return from military exercises or from doing their military service;
- 3) if at the time of the callup for military exercises he is attending school and if leaving school for military exercises would prevent him from completing the academic year--until beginning of the school vacation;
- 4) if because of death or serious illness in the household or because of a natural disaster his departure for military exercises would represent a hardship for the household--so long as that condition prevails in the household, but no longer than 1 year;
- 5) if immediately before the departure or at the time of departure for military exercises a death has occurred in the household or in the family--until the next callup for military exercises.

Participation in military exercises may be postponed in exceptional cases because of official business which cannot be postponed if this is requested by the competent agency of a sociopolitical community or other government agency, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community in which the reservist is employed--so long as such need exists, but no longer than 1 year.

Participation in a military exercise lasting longer than 3 days may in exceptional cases be postponed in the case of a farmer called up for military exercises because of farm work that cannot be postponed if there is no other member of his household capable of gainful employment--for no longer than 3 months.

An application for postponement of participation in a military exercise shall be filed with the competent body of the sociopolitical community within 8 days from the date of receipt of the summons to the military exercise, and if postponement is being sought on the grounds enumerated in Subparagraphs 1, 4 and 5 of Paragraph 1 of this article, the application may also be submitted upon occurrence of the reason why postponement of participation in the military exercise is being sought.



#### Article 56

According to the needs of manning the armed forces, reservists shall be given and notified of their wartime assignment in military units or military institutions.

Information concerning wartime assignment constitute a military secret.

Personal military equipment may be issued to a reservist given a particular wartime assignment according to the duty to which he has been assigned.

A person who in the context of the provision of Paragraph 3 of this article has been issued personal military equipment must receive, keep and maintain that equipment, must carry it with him when so ordered by a summons of the competent authority, and must return it in good condition at the request of the competent authority.

#### Article 57

A reservist whose state of health has changed so as to have an effect on his fitness for military service may at his request or on the summons of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community or authority of the military district or other military authority be sent for a medical examination and evaluation of his fitness for military service.

A military medical commission shall evaluate fitness for military service of the person referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The fitness for military service of a woman subject to military service shall be ascertained at her request by the medical commission designated by the competent body in the republic or autonomous province.

#### Article 58

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: the callup of reservists for military exercises and postponement of participation in military exercises; the organization of specialized training of reservists in organizations of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers and in other organizations; the manner in which the wartime assignment of persons subject to military service shall be determined; the issuance of personal military equipment to reservists, and the safekeeping, maintenance and return of such equipment.

#### VI. Foreign Travel and Residence of Persons Subject to Military Service

#### Article 59

A registrant who intends to travel abroad for temporary or permanent residence must obtain the permission of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

Permission for travel and temporary residence abroad may be issued to a registrant if he is traveling abroad for the following reasons:

- 1) for medical treatment--so long as such treatment lasts, but no longer than 2 years;
- 2) for participation in school excursions, for annual vacation, a tourist trip, etc.--up to 40 days;
- 3) to conduct official business, to participate in athletic competitions or cultural and artistic events, to settle property, family or other relations abroad, or in case of serious illness or death of a member of his immediate family abroad--up to 60 days;
- 4) to do his training cruise in the curriculum of a secondary maritime training school--until completion of his training time at sea;
- 5) to perform duties arising out of the employment relation on a vessel or aircraft of the SFRY traveling on international routes--up to 2 years;
- 6) to go abroad with his parents or spouse if they are going abroad officially or for employment, provided his induction to do military service is not scheduled within 1 year from the date when the application for permission is submitted--up to 4 years;
- 7) to conduct private or official business if at the time of recruitment he was classified temporarily unfit for military service for a period of 2 years or longer--until expiration of the time for which he was classified temporarily unfit for military service.

The agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may not allow a registrant to travel or reside temporarily abroad for a period of time that would extend beyond the end of the month of June in the year in which the registrant reaches age 27.

Permission to travel for permanent residence abroad shall be issued to a registrant who is going abroad to reside there permanently.

A registrant who is residing abroad may be issued permission for temporary or permanent residence abroad or for extension of residence abroad under the conditions prescribed in Paragraphs 2 and 4 of this article and for other good cause (employment, family and other similar reasons).

A registrant as referred to in Paragraphs 2, 4 and 5 of this article shall not be issued permission to travel abroad if there exists any of the impediments prescribed in Article 61 of this law.

#### Article 60

Permission for residence or for extension of residence abroad under the provision of Article 59, Paragraph 5, of this law shall be issued to a resident residing abroad by the diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY (hereafter referred to as the "diplomatic mission") where he is enrolled in military records.

Within 2 months from the date of issuing the permission referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the diplomatic mission is required to notify the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning each registrant to which it has issued permission for residence or extension of residence abroad and the period of residence which it has permitted or extended.

#### Article 61

A reservist may travel abroad and reside abroad temporarily or permanently provided there are none of the following impediments:

- 1) if a callup for military service has been delivered to him;
- 2) if criminal proceedings have been instituted against him for the crime of not responding to a callup and evasion of military service or for the crime of evading military service by making himself unfit or by deception;
- 3) if he is a military specialist or has a wartime assignment as designated by the federal secretary for national defense.

The Federal Executive Council may prescribe conditions which would temporarily restrict foreign travel of persons subject to military service of particular ages or of a particular professional training which have special importance to manning the armed forces.

If any of the reasons referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article should prevail, it shall be assumed that in the context of regulations governing the issue of travel documents to citizens of the SFRY the interests of national defense require that a travel document not be issued to a reservist or the period of validity of a travel document not be extended or visa not be issued or that the travel document shall be withdrawn or visa canceled.

#### Article 62

A registrant or reservist who has traveled abroad for permanent residence or temporary residence longer than 1 year must report to the diplomatic mission for enrollment in the military records within the period specified in regulations on travel documents of citizens of the SFRY.

A resident residing abroad permanent or temporarily in the calendar year in which he reaches age 17 must during that calendar year report to the diplomatic mission to be enrolled in the military records.

#### Article 63

A registrant residing abroad temporarily must return to the SFRY before expiration of the period for which temporary foreign residence has been granted him, and within a period of 8 days from arrival in the SFRY he is required to report to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community for recruitment or induction to do military service.

#### Article 64

A registrant returning from approved temporary residence abroad to the SFRY for a visit lasting longer than 3 months shall be inducted to do military service if in recruitment he has been classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service.

A registrant who following approved permanent residence abroad returns to the SFRY for a visit lasting longer than 1 year shall be inducted to do military service if in recruitment he is classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service.

As an exception to Paragraph 2 of this article a registrant returning after approved permanent residence abroad to reside in the SFRY to go to school shall not be inducted to do his military service so long as his schooling lasts.

#### Article 65

Foreign travel and foreign residence of servicemen and reservists while serving in the armed forces shall be regulated by regulations governing service in the armed forces.

#### Article 66

A reservist may not enter into the service of foreign armed forces or establish any relationship whatsoever with those forces without prior permission of the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

### VII. Callup of Persons Subject to Military Service and the Keeping of Records on Such Persons

#### Article 67

A person subject to military service which the competent agency calls up to fulfill a military requirement must report to the respective agency at the place and time indicated in the individual or general callup and bring with him the things and documents specified in the callup notice.

The individual callup notice, except callup notices for mobilization or trial mobilization, shall be delivered to the person subject to military service no later than 30 days before the day fixed for commencement of fulfillment of the requirement specified in the notice.

If the person subject to military service does not respond to the notice and does not justify his absence, the authority which summoned him may issue an order for him to be brought in by force. The order to bring him in by force shall be carried out by the authorized law enforcement agencies or authorized military agencies.

#### Article 68

The person responsible in an agency of a sociopolitical community or other government agency, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community in which the person subject to military service is employed is required to immediately report his evasion of fulfillment of his military service requirement to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

A workingman who is self-employed (independently performs an activity by his own work with privately owned assets) must immediately report evasion of fulfillment of the military service requirement by a person subject to military service who is employed by him to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

#### Article 69

An individual who has been called up to fulfill a military obligation is entitled to be reimbursed for his traveling expenses by public transport, to be housed and to be fed.

The reimbursement referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be paid to individuals called up to fulfill a military service requirement in the Yugoslav People's Army under the financial plan of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in territorial defense--from the resources of the authority which called him up.

The conditions for payment of the reimbursement referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in the Yugoslav People's Army and the amount of that reimbursement shall be set forth in a regulation of the federal secretary for national defense, and with respect to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in territorial defense--by a regulation of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.



## Article 70

A registrant or reservist who is employed and who has been called up to fulfill a military obligation shall be entitled to compensation for the time of fulfillment of that obligation in the amount of the average monthly personal income which he earned over the 3 months prior to being called up.

A registrant or reservist who is a delegate in the assembly of a sociopolitical community or the assembly of a self-managed special-interest community, who holds a permanent position or has been delegated or appointed to a permanent position in a sociopolitical or public organization, if he earns personal income on that basis, shall be afforded the same status as a registrant or reservist who is employed with respect to the right to compensation of personal income for the time of performance of the military obligation for which he was called up.

A registrant or reservist who independently performs an activity by his own labor and with privately owned assets or is self-employed in another profession shall be entitled to money compensation for the time spent fulfilling the military obligation in the amount of the base on which he pays the contribution for old-age and disability insurance.

A registrant or reservist who qualifies for a pension or is receiving money compensation because of temporary unemployment shall be entitled to the pension or money compensation during the time he is fulfilling the military obligation for which he was called up.

A registrant or reservist who is not employed, who does not independently perform an activity with his own labor and privately owned assets, and does not practice another profession, and a registrant and reservist who does not qualify for a pension or money compensation because of temporary employment, shall be entitled to money compensation in the amount prescribed by the Federal Executive Council for the time spent fulfilling the military obligation for which he was called up.

The registrant and reservist referred to in Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 of this article whose reimbursement of personal income or whose pension or money compensation for temporary unemployment is less than the compensation referred to in Paragraph 5 of this article, shall be entitled to the difference between the amount of the reimbursement of personal income, the pension or the money compensation for temporary unemployment and the amount of the compensation referred to in Paragraph 5 of this article.

A reservist shall also be entitled to pay and supplements according to his rank or class during the time of military service. If that person's personal income, pension or the like is greater than the pay for the rank or class, he shall be entitled to the difference between the amount of pay and the amount of the personal income, pension or the like.

The compensation envisaged by the provisions of this article shall be paid to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in the Yugoslav People's Army under the financial plan of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in territorial defense, it shall be paid from the resources of the authority which called him up.

A reservist called up for a military exercise conducted during his daily or weekly period of rest or on days when that individual does not work shall not be entitled to the compensation envisaged by the provisions of this article. If the military exercise lasts longer than 8 hours, he shall be entitled to free meals for that time.

A reservist may not be called up for military exercises conducted under the conditions referred to in Paragraph 9 of this article for more than 60 hours in any one year.

The manner of payment of compensation to reservists for time spent fulfilling a military obligation for which they were called up in territorial defense shall be defined by a regulation of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.

#### Article 71

Military records shall be kept on persons subject to military service.

Military records on all persons subject to military service shall be kept by the agency referred to in Article 3, Paragraph 2, of this law, and military records on reserve officers and reserve military employees shall be kept by the competent authority of the military district. Persons subject to military service shall be kept in military records according to their domicile, and persons subject to military service who are employed for an indefinite period in another republic or autonomous province where they do not have domicile--according to the place where they are employed.

Military records on persons subject to military service residing abroad more than 1 year shall also be kept by the competent diplomatic missions.

Persons subject to military service shall be entered in military records at the beginning of the year in which the obligation of registration and recruitment comes about.

Women subject to military service assigned to the reserves of the Yugoslav People's Army and women who have volunteered for military training shall be kept in the military records according to regulations issued by the federal secretary for national defense, and other women subject to military service shall be kept in the military records according to the regulations of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.

Organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, agencies of sociopolitical communities and other government agencies shall keep certain data on persons subject to military service employed in those organizations or agencies according to the regulations of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.

#### Article 71

Agencies of sociopolitical communities, other government agencies, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities are required to furnish the agency referred to in Article 3, Paragraph 2, of this law, at its request, the necessary data concerning persons subject to military service for purposes of evaluation of fitness for military service and for assignment of arm, service or individual duties in the armed forces.

#### Article 73

A military book shall be issued to persons subject to military service who are kept in military records.

The military book shall be a personal public document whereby a person subject to military service proves that he has fulfilled his military service requirement, and proves his identity while in military service.

The military book shall be issued by the competent agency of the sociopolitical community where the person subject to military service is registered.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 3 of this article, the military book shall be issued by the following:

- 1) by the military school--to cadets who previously have not been issued a military book and to cadets who have lost their military book or in some other manner have been left without it;
- 2) by the unit or institution of the Yugoslav People's Army at the rank of an independent battalion, regiment or higher--to persons whose active military service is terminating and to servicemen who while doing their military service lose their military book or in some other manner are left without it.

Persons subject to military service are responsible for the safekeeping of their military book. If their wartime assignment has been entered in the military book, it constitutes a military secret.

It is prohibited to carry a military book out of the SFRY.

A person subject to military service who is traveling abroad for a stay longer than 1 year is required before his departure abroad to turn his

military book in to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community where he is registered in military records.

#### Article 74

A registrant or reservist is required to report any of the following changes to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community where he is registered in military records within 8 days of the date when the change occurred: an obvious change in state of health that has a bearing on fitness for military service; educational and professional qualifications acquired; establishment and termination of the employment relations; the type and place of performance of an independent activity by their personal labor with privately owned assets or practice of other profession; change of address; change of domicile; return from doing military service and loss of military book.

The persons referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are required to report a stay abroad longer than 40 days and a temporary absence from the domicile longer than 40 days--within a period of 8 days before departure, and return from abroad or to his domicile--within a period of 8 days from the date of arrival at the domicile.

In addition to the changes set forth in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, women subject to military service who are registered in military records are required to report changes in family life which have a bearing on performance of their military obligation (marriage, pregnancy, birth of a child, divorce, death in the family).

The changes set forth in Paragraphs 1-3 of this article must be reported by registrants and reservists or women subject to military service who are employed in agencies of sociopolitical communities or in other government agencies, organizations of associated labor or other self-managed organizations and communities in which there is a service or person handling the affairs of national defense to that service or person. That service or person shall within 8 days of the date of the notified change so inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community with which the registrant or reservist is registered in military records.

#### Article 75

Changes affecting a person subject to military service which occur by decision of a competent body or agency must be reported by that body or agency to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community with which the person subject to military service is registered in military records within 15 days from the date when the change occurred, as follows:

- 1) a change of the person's name or termination of citizenship of the SFRY--by the body or agency which issued the final decision;

2) the institution, stay or suspension of criminal proceedings for a crime automatically prosecuted, a reformatory sentence or unsuspended prison sentence for a crime under a final verdict, an institutional reformatory measure under a final pronouncement or precautionary measures of mandatory psychiatric treatment and commitment in a health organization and mandatory treatment of alcoholics and drug addicts in a health or other specialized organization, and commitment to serve a reformatory or prison sentence--by the competent court;

3) a prison sentence pronounced on a registrant for a misdemeanor--by the agency which pronounced the sentence;

4) release from serving a prison sentence or reformatory sentence--by the agency or institution which released the person subject to military service following service of the sentence.

Notice that a person subject to military service has gone abroad for employment must be delivered in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article by the self-managed special-interest community for employment security which acted as intermediary in obtaining foreign employment for the person subject to military service.

The death of a person subject to military service or proclamation of the death of a missing person subject to military service must be reported in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article by the registrar who made the entry to that effect in the death records.

The absence of a registrant or reservist from his domicile or residence for unknown causes and lasting more than 15 days shall be reported by a member of the family with which he lived in the same household, and if he lived separately from his family, but was employed--by the responsible person in the agency of the sociopolitical community or other government agency, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community who keeps records on employed persons, or by a workman who independently performs an activity by his own labor and with privately owned assets by whom the absent person subject to military service was employed. The notice of the absence of a person subject to military service for unknown causes must be filed by such persons within 8 days following passage of the 15th day from the date of his absence.

#### Article 76

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: the callup of persons subject to military service to perform military obligations; the manner in which compensation shall be paid to persons subject to military service called up to perform a military obligation in the Yugoslav People's Army and the keeping of military records on persons subject to military service.



## VIII. Procedure

### Article 77

The decisions related to fulfillment of a military obligation shall be made by the competent agency of the sociopolitical community unless this law provides otherwise.

The commanding officer of an independent battalion, a regimental commander, or officer occupying equivalent or higher position shall pronounce decisions related to fulfillment of the requirement to do prescribed military service of a serviceman in a military unit or military institution under his command or administration, except decisions which apply to establishing the status of sole breadwinner of a family.

An appeal of a decision pronounced in connection with performance of a military obligation shall not stay execution of that decision.

An appeal against a decision of a recruiting commission shall be ruled on by the commanding officer of the authority of the military district which established that commission.

### Article 78

Fees may not be introduced nor collected for rulings and other decisions, confirmations and other documents, for applications, appeals and other petitions nor appendices to such documents or petitions related to fulfillment of a military obligation or pertaining to such obligation.

## IX. Punitive Provisions

### Article 79

A registrant or reservist shall be liable to a fine of no less than 1,500 and no more than 5,000 dinars or a prison sentence not to exceed 30 days for a misdemeanor if without good cause he does not answer the summons of a competent authority at the time and place indicated in the individual or general callup notice--for registration in military records, recruitment, medical and other examinations and tests prescribed by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and for induction, military exercises or professional military training conducted in organizations of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers and other organizations and certified as performance of military exercises in the context of Article 52 of this law, or for issuance or return of personal military equipment or for other military service.

A person subject to military service shall also be liable to the punishment stated in Paragraph 1 of this article for a misdemeanor if after responding to a callup, he leaves without authorization a military exercise or professional military training which is certified in the context of Article 52 of

this law as performance of military exercises or other military service, or if he does not receive or does not return in good condition or does not keep and maintain in the prescribed manner personal military equipment as referred to in Article 56, Paragraphs 3 and 4, of this law or does not carry such equipment with him when ordered by the callup of the competent authority.

#### Article 80

A registrant or reservist shall be liable to a fine of no less than 800 and no more than 3,000 dinars or a prison sentence not to exceed 15 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

- 1) if within the prescribed period he does not notify the competent authority of the sociopolitical community where he is registered in military records of changes occurring as referred to in Article 31, Paragraph 3, and Article 74, Paragraphs 1-3, of this law;
- 2) if within the period prescribed in Articles 62 and 63 of this law he does not report to the diplomatic mission or competent agency of the sociopolitical community;
- 3) if he carries his military book from the SFRY (Article 73, Paragraph 6) or does not turn it over to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community before departing abroad for a stay longer than 1 year (Article 73, Paragraph 7).

A registrant or reservist who has committed a misdemeanor as referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1 or 2, of this article shall be liable to a prison sentence not to exceed 30 days if because of the failure to report in the context of Article 31, Paragraph 3, Articles 62 and 63, and Article 74, Paragraphs 1-3, of this law it was not possible to deliver to him in good time a callup for military service or if for that reason he was unable to report on time for military service.

#### Article 81

A self-managed special-interest community for employment security which acted as intermediary in obtaining foreign employment for a person subject to military service shall be subject to a fine of no less than 15,000 and no more than 30,000 dinars if it does not inform or is late in informing the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning departure of a person subject to military service to work abroad (Article 75, Paragraph 2).

The person responsible in the agency of a sociopolitical community or other government agency or in a self-managed special-interest community for employment security shall be subject to a fine of no less than 1,500 and no more than 3,000 dinars for a misdemeanor if that agency or community does

not inform or is late in informing the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning changes concerning a person subject to military service as referred to in Article 75, Paragraphs 1-3, of this law.

#### Article 82

An organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community shall be subject to a fine of no less than 15,000 and no more than 30,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

- 1) if it does not inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community that a worker it employs is evading recruitment, induction or performance of other military service--as soon as it learns of the evasion (Article 68, Paragraph 1);
- 2) if within the prescribed period it does not notify the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of the absence for unknown causes of a person subject to military service who was employed by it (Article 75, Paragraph 4).

The person responsible in the agency of the sociopolitical community or other government agency, the organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community or other organization shall also be subject to a fine of no less than 1,500 and no more than 3,000 dinars for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

#### Article 83

A workingman who independently performs an activity with his own labor and privately owned assets shall be subject to a fine of no less than 5,000 and no more than 20,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

- 1) if he does not inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community that a person subject to military service who is employed by him is evading performance of a military obligation (Article 68, Paragraph 2);
- 2) if within the prescribed period he does not notify the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of the absence for unknown causes of a person subject to military service who is employed by him (Article 75, Paragraph 4).

#### Article 84

The member of a family of a person subject to military service with whom he lives in the same household shall be subject to a fine of no less than 1,500 dinars for a misdemeanor if within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community the absence of the person subject to military service for unknown causes (Article 75, Paragraph 4).

## X. Transitional and Final Provisions

### Article 85

A person subject to military service who before the date when this law takes effect was classified unfit for military service in peacetime or permanently unfit for military service shall be regarded as classified unfit for military service under the provisions of this law.

### Article 86

A registrant who by the date when this law takes effect has graduated from a university school or other senior postsecondary or junior postsecondary school or who as of the date when this law takes effect is attending a university school or other senior postsecondary or junior postsecondary school and has reached the third level (postgraduate study) shall do his military service under the conditions prescribed by the provisions of Article 32, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 1, and Article 36, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 3, and Paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZHBEI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974).

### Article 87

A person who by the date when this law takes effect has graduated from a nationwide defense college or completed a nationwide defense program of study and in accordance with the curriculum and program of that college has served 4 months and 15 days as a military officer (training period) in the Yugoslav People's Army shall be regarded as having done his military service under the provisions of this law.

A person who as of the date when this law takes effect is a student of a nationwide defense college or course of study or of a security and social self-protection college shall be regarded as having done his military service under the provisions of this law if in accordance with the curriculum and program of the college in which he is studying he has spent 4 months and 15 days on duty (training) in the Yugoslav People's Army and if he has graduated from that college by the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 26.

### Article 88

Servicemen, except servicemen serving an 18-month period of military service, who as of the date when this law takes effect are doing their military service shall serve out their period of military service in accordance with the duration fixed under the provisions of Article 32, Paragraphs 1-2, of the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZHBEI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974).

Servicemen who as of the date when this law takes effect are doing an 18-month period of military service shall serve out a period of 15 months.

The servicemen referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article who as of the date when this law takes effect have done 15 or more months of military service shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army within 8 days from the date when this law takes effect.

#### Article 89

A person whose military service has been interrupted in the sense of Articles 38-40 of the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974) before the date when this law takes effect and who has not fulfilled his obligation to do military service under Article 41 of that law shall be inducted to complete his period of military service under the provisions of this law (Articles 36-37) if that is more favorable to him.

#### Article 90

A person subject to military service who before the day when this law takes effect has not done his military service under the statutes in effect until that date shall be transferred to the reserves if the calendar year has expired in which he reached age 27 even though he is classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service.

A serviceman who under the statutes in effect up until the date when this law takes effect has been inducted to do military service after expiration of the calendar year in which he reached age 27 shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army within 8 days from the date when this law takes effect.

#### Article 91

On the day when this law takes effect, the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974) shall cease to be valid.

Regulations issued on the basis of authorization contained in the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974) shall remain in effect until issuance of the regulations of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for national defense authorized by this law, but no later than 31 December 1981, except for provisions of those regulations which are not in conformity with this law.

#### Article 92

This law shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

END



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

10/6/80